

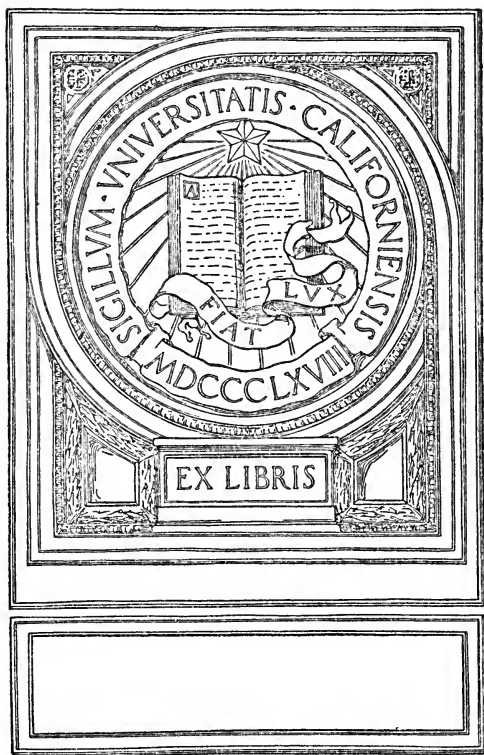


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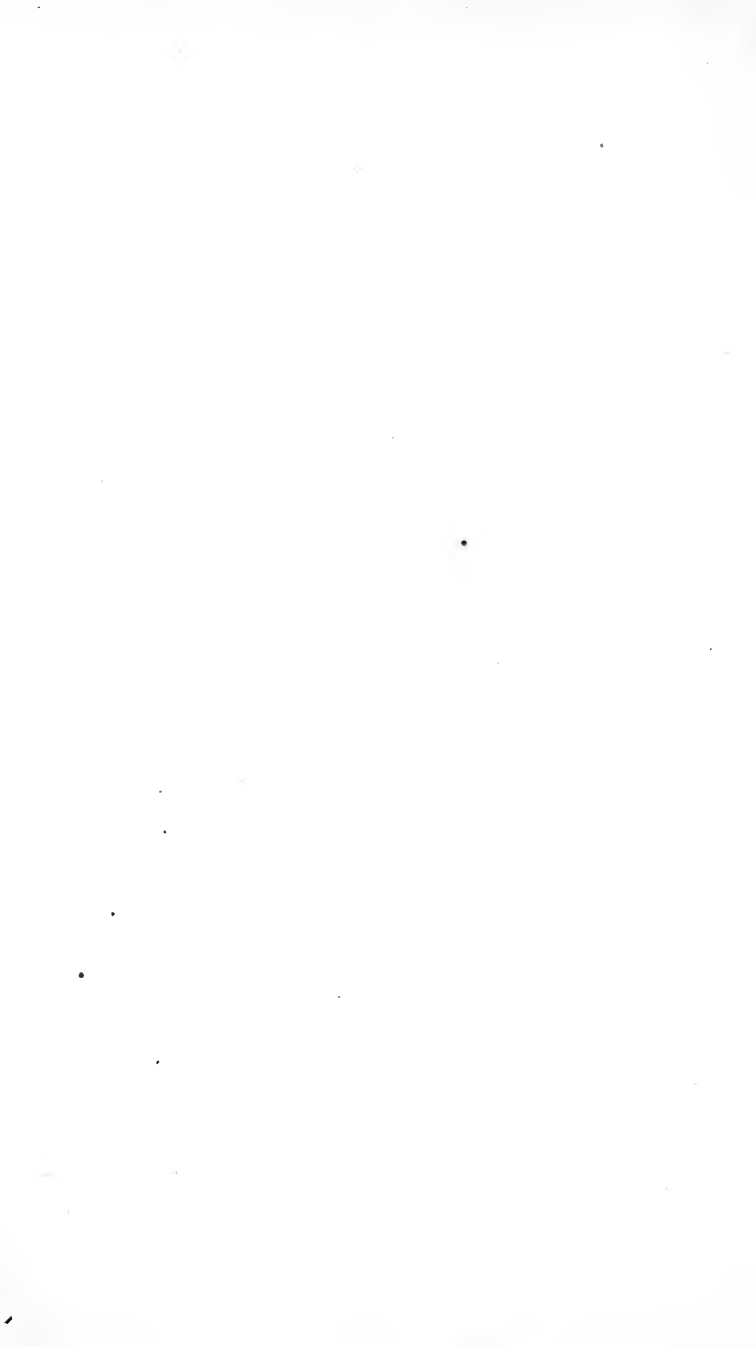








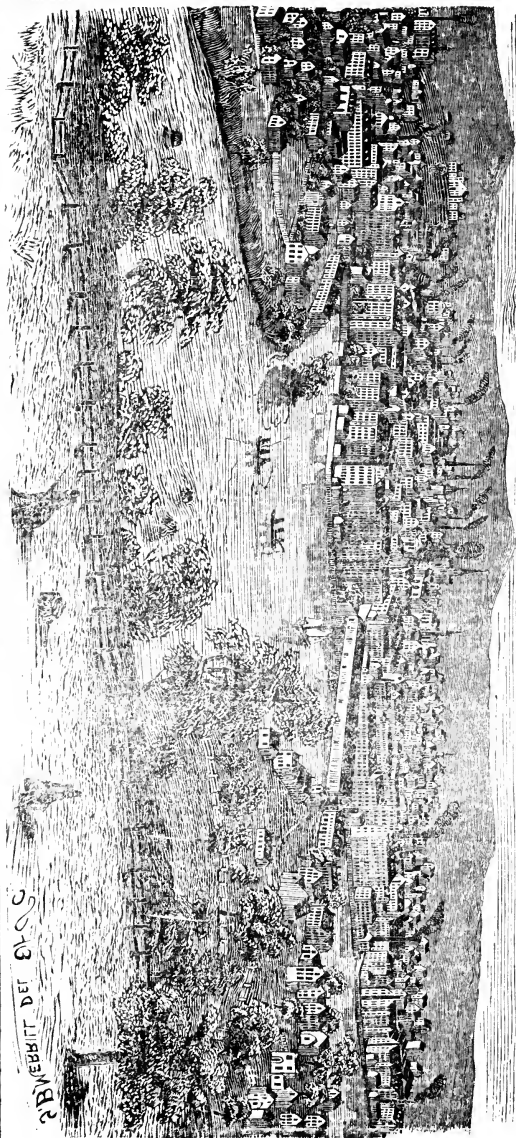






CHARLES COWLEY.

VIEW OF LOWELL.



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ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF LOWELL.

REVISED EDITION.

BY CHARLES COWLEY.

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B. C. SARGEANT AND JOSHUA MERRILL.
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PREFACE.

In an age so prolific in works of local history as ours, no apology need be offered for publishing this History of Lowell. Successors of the Pawtucket and Wamesit Indians,—heirs of the founders of American Manufactures,—contemporaries of the men of the “Legion of Honor,” who went hence to defend the Nationality of America, and who, dying on the field of battle, have risen to enduring renown;—the people of Lowell are to-day in possession of a certain body of memories and traditions, not current elsewhere, but kept alive here by local associations, by the presence of historical objects, and by the local press.

Of these memories and traditions Lowell is justly proud. From them her people receive an educational stimulus not to be despised. She would no more part with these local reminiscences than Plymouth would part with her Pilgrim history, or than New York would forget those Knickerbocker memories, among which the genius of Irving is enshrined forever.

To gather and embalm all that seemed most valuable in this heritage of memories and traditions, has been the object of the present work, which covers the whole period from the discovery of the Merrimack River by De Monts, in 1605, to the year of Grace 1868.

The first edition, or rather the original germ, of this work, was published in 1856. With the aid of a mass of materials laboriously gathered during the last twelve years, I may hope that the value of the work has been greatly increased. The narrative has been thoroughly revised, and very much enlarged.

Several engravers of established reputation were employed to execute illustrative cuts. Many of these are well done: but

some are so badly executed that, perhaps, an apology is due for their insertion in these pages; and others have been rejected altogether.

Materials were at hand for a much larger volume, or even for several volumes; but I have aimed to be concise,—considering Moses, who, in two lines, chronicled the creation of a world, (*pace* Colenso,) a much better model for the local annalist than he who filled several volumes with the burning of a Brunswick Theatre.

How far I have succeeded in the accomplishment of this self-imposed task, my readers must judge; and they will form the most charitable judgments, who best appreciate the great difficulties under which such a task must be prosecuted. If I have not wholly failed of my purpose, the work will possess attractions for all who are identified with Lowell, and perchance may descend to the Lowellians of the Future, and be read with interest hereafter, when he who wrote it shall have passed away.

THE AUTHOR.

March 4th, 1868.

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HISTORY OF LOWELL.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE MERRIMACK TO THE INTRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURES.

Geology of the Merrimack—Discovery of the Merrimack—De Monts—Champlain—Concord River—Indian Rendezvous at Lowell—John Eliot—Gen. Gookin—Billerica—Chelmsford—Wamesit Reservation—Indians—Passaconaway—Wannalancet—Indian War—King William's War—Dracut—Purchase of Wamesit—Tewksbury—Convention in Dracut—Bunker Hill Incidents—Simeon Spaulding—Shay's Rebellion—Slavery—Pawtucket Canal—Bridge over the Merrimack—Middlesex Canal—Timber Trade.

HERODOTUS, with fine felicity, calls Egypt a gift from the Nile. In a similar sense, Lowell may be called a gift from the Merrimack. Her history, also, may be well begun with that noble artery of nature, the waters of which move the great wheels of her industry.

Long after America was upheaved from the bosom of the Atlantic, a chain of lakes occupied the valleys of the Merrimack and its tributaries, from the mountains to the sea. Proofs of this appear in the alluvial formation of these valleys, the shapes of their basins, their outlets, their different levels, and the stratified character of the soil. One of these lakes extended westward from Pawtucket Falls; and the limits of several others may be easily defined.* But long before the dawn of history, and probably long before man appeared on the earth, the attrition of the waters in the channels of these lakes, by widening and deepening their outlets, gradually diminished their depth, and at length left their basins dry.

* Potter's Manchester, p. 24; Fox's Dunstable, p. 8.

The draining of these lakes increased the volume of water which the Merrimack rolled down to the main.

The head of the Merrimack is at Franklin in New Hampshire, where the Winnepesawkee, the outlet of the lake of that name, unites with the Pemigewasset, an artery of the White Mountains. Like all the great rivers on the Atlantic slope, the Merrimack pursues a southerly course. But after following this course from Franklin to Tyngsborough, a distance of eighty miles, the Merrimack, unlike any other stream on the Atlantic, makes a detour to the north-east, and even runs a part of the way north-west. It is obviously unnatural that, after approaching within twenty miles of the head-waters of the Saugus, as the Merrimack does on entering Massachusetts, it should suddenly change its course, and pursue a circuitous route of more than forty miles to the sea. If the history of by-gone ages could be restored, we should probably find the Merrimack discharging its burden at Lynn, and not at Newburyport.

Changes like this, however, are not unfamiliar to geologists. Sometimes they have been caused by earthquakes, but more often, in these latitudes, by ice-gorges.* Whether this deflection in the course of the Merrimack was caused by subterranean convulsions, or by the formation in the old channel of an ice-blockade, cannot now be known; but the fact of the change is unquestionable.

The discovery of the Merrimack took place under the auspices of Henry the Fourth, commonly called Henry the Great, whose reign forms one of the most brilliant eras in the annals of France. In 1603, Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts, one of the ablest of the Huguenot chiefs, obtained a patent from this king, creating him Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, and vesting in him the government of New France, which em-

* On earthquakes on the Merrimack, see Coffin's Newbury; on ice-floods, Hitchcock's Geology of Massachusetts, Part III.

braced all our Eastern and Middle States, together with the Dominion of Canada. On the seventh of March, 1604, De Monts sailed from Havre with an expedition for colonizing "Acadia," as his new dominions were called. He arrived on the sixth of April, and began at once the great work of exploration and settlement.* While talking with the Indians on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, in the ensuing summer, he was told by them that there was a beautiful river lying far to the south, which they called the Merrimack.† The following winter De Monts spent with his fellow-pioneers on the island of St. Croix, in Passamaquoddy Bay, amid hardships as severe as those which, sixteen years later, beset the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

On the eighteenth of June, 1605, in a bark of fifteen tons,—having with him the Sieur de Champlain, several other French gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian with his squaw,—De Monts sailed from the St. Croix, and standing to the south examined the coast as far as Cape Cod. In the course of this cruise, on the seventeenth of July, 1605, he entered the bay on which the city of Newburyport has since arisen, and discovered the Merrimack at its mouth. The Sieur de Champlain, the faithful pilot of De Monts, and chronicler of his voyages, has left a notice of this discovery in a work which ranks among the most romantic in the literature of the sea. In closing this notice Champlain says: "Moreover, there is in this bay a river of considerable magnitude, which we have called Gua's River."‡

* Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*.

† *Relationes des Jesuites*, 1604.

‡ *Plus y a en icelle bay une riviere qui est fort spaciuese, laquelle auons nomme la riviere du Gas [Gua].—Voyages en la Nouvelle France*, ed. 1632, p. 80 (Harvard University Library). In Potter's *Manchester*, and Chase's *Haverhill*, Captain Champlain himself is erroneously credited with the discovery of the Merrimack. The romantic career of Champlain, "the father of New France," is graphically sketched by Dr. Parkman, in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*. His works are soon to be published by the University of Lasalle.

Thus De Monts named the Merrimack from himself; but the compliment was not accepted. Regardless of the name with which it was baptized by its discoverer, the Merrimack clung, with poetic justice, to the name which it received from the Indians long before the flag of the Vice-Admiral floated over Newburyport Bay. The visit of Admiral De Monts, like that of Capt. John Smith in 1614, was attended with no result. Other renowned names were yet to be inscribed on the list of the visitors of the Merrimack. But its song was the song of Tennyson's brook :—

"For men may come and men may go,
But I roll on forever."

The King had stipulated, in his patent of New France, that De Monts should establish in Acadia the Roman Catholic creed, (*"la foy catholique, apostolique et romaine ;"*) a singular condition indeed, considering that De Monts was a Protestant, and that Henry himself was only a "political Catholic." The expenses of the three expeditions which he sent to New France were ruinous to De Monts. Cabals were formed by his enemies; neither the loftiest motives nor the finest abilities could save him; and the tragic death of Henry by the dagger by Ravallac, in 1610, completed his ruin as a public man. He died about the year 1620.*

In 1635, thirty years after the discovery of the Merrimack, the Concord, which the Indians called the Musketaquid, assumed a place in civilized history; the fame of its grassy meadows and of the fish that swarmed in its waters attracting settlers from England, who established themselves at Concord.†

From a period too remote to be determined by either history or tradition, until after the great Indian Plague of 1617, Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack, and Wamesit Falls on the

* See Haag's *Vies des Protestants Francais* (Boston Public Library).

† Thoreau's Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers; Reynold's Agricultural Survey of Middlesex County, in Transactions of Mass. Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1859; Shattuck's Concord.

Concord, were the sites of populous villages of Pawtucket or Pennacook Indians, who, indeed, remained, though with greatly diminished numbers, in the present territory of Lowell, forty years after the plague. Here, in spring-time, from all the circumjacent region, came thousands of the dusky sons and daughters of the forest, catching, with rude stratagem, their winter's store of fish. Here they sat in conclave round the council fire. Here they threaded the fantastic mazes of the dance. "Here was the war-whoop sounded, and the death-song sung; and when the tiger strife was over, here curled the smoke of peace."

The Pawtuckets, or Pennacooks, were among the most powerful tribes in New England, numbering, after the plague, several thousand souls. Their territory stretched almost from the Penobscot to the Connecticut, and included the whole of New Hampshire, a part of Massachusetts, and a part of Maine. At the head of this tribe, the first English settlers found the sagacious and wary Passaconaway, who, in 1644, after more than twenty years' observation of the progress of the English settlements, signed an agreement which is still preserved, renouncing his authority as an independent chief, and placing himself and his tribe under the colonial authorities.*

In 1647, the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle of the Indians," began a series of missionary visits to this place, which were continued by him till the villages of Wamesit and Pawtucket ceased to be. In 1656, Major-General Daniel Gookin was appointed Superintendent of all the Indians under the jurisdiction of the Colony, among whom were the Indians living here. Thus a sort of Indian Bureau was established, not unlike the Freedmen's Bureau of a later day. The Apostle Eliot and Judge Gookin won the entire confidence of the Indians, being about the only white men that came among them who did not come to rob them.

* I omit the details of the Indian history of Lowell, and refer the reader to my historical lecture on the "Memories of the Indians and Pioneers" of this region, published, in pamphlet form, in 1862.

In 1652, Captain Simon Willard and Captain Edward Johnson, under a commission from the colonial government, ascended the Merrimack in a boat, and surveyed the valley as far as Lake Winnepesawkee. A new impetus was given to the work of settlement, which, as early as 1653, reached the vicinity of Lowell. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1655, the General Court incorporated the town of Chelmsford, and also the town of Billerica.*

To secure the Indians from being dispossessed of their lands, on which they had erected substantial wigwams, made enclosures, and begun the business of agriculture, Eliot, in 1653, procured the passage of an act by the General Court, reserving a good part of the land on which Lowell now stands to the exclusive use of the Indians. The bounds of Chelmsford, and also of this Wamesit Indian Reservation, were modified and enlarged by the General Court in 1656 and in 1660. About 1665, a ditch, traces of which are still visible, was cut to mark the bounds of the Indian reservation; beginning on the bank of the Merrimack, above the Falls, and running thence southerly, easterly, and northerly, in a semi-circular line, including about twenty-five hundred acres, and terminating on the bank of the Merrimack, about a mile below the mouth of the Concord.

The year 1660 was signalized by an event claiming notice in this narrative, though it is uncertain whether it took place here or where Manchester now stands: the retirement of Passaconaway. Burdened with the weight of about four score years, this veteran chief gave a grand though rude banquet, which was attended by a vast concourse of chiefs, braves, and other Indians of every degree, together with a representation of the new race that was now claiming the ancient abode of the red man. Transferring his sachemship to his son, Wanalancet, the old chief made a farewell address, of which we

* Allen's Chelmsford; Myrick's Billerica; Barber's Historical Collections.

have the following report,—which is, perhaps, as trustworthy as the reports of speeches in the pictured pages of Livy:—

“I am now going the way of all the earth; I am ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more. I will now leave this word of counsel with you: Take heed how you quarrel with the English. Harken to the last words of your father and friend. The white men are the sons of the morning. The Great Spirit is their father. His sun shines bright about them. Never make war with them. Sure as you light the fires, the breath of heaven will turn the flame upon you and destroy you.”



The local sachem of this place during several succeeding years was Nump-how, who was married to one of Passaconaway's daughters. But in 1669, Wannalancet and the Indians of Concord, New Hampshire, fearing an attack from the Mohawks, came down the Merimack in canoes, took up their abode at Wamesit, and built a fort for their protection on the hill in Belvidere, ever since called Fort Hill, which they surrounded with palisades. The white settlers of the vicinity, participating in this dread of the Mohawks, shut themselves up in garrison houses.

In 1674, Gookin computed the Christian Indians then in Wamesit at fifteen families, or seventy-five souls, and the adherents of the old faith, or no-faith, at nearly two hundred more. At this time, the Indian magistrate, Numphow, the archetype of Judge Locke and Judge Crosby, held a monthly court, taking cognizance of petty offences, in a log cabin, near the Boott Canal. An Indian preacher, Samuel, imparted to his clansmen his own crude views of Christianity at weekly meetings in a log chapel near the west end of Appleton street. In May of each year came Eliot and Gookin, who held a court having jurisdiction of higher offences, and gave direction in all matters affecting the interests of the village. Numphow's cabin was Gookin's court-house, and Samuel's chapel was

Eliot's church. Wannalancet held his court as chief in a log cabin near Pawtucket Falls.

In 1675, came King Phillip's War, during which Wannalancet and our local Indians, faithful to the counsels of Passaconaway, either took part with the whites, or remained neutral. Their sufferings in consequence of this were most severe. Some of them were put to death by Phillip for exposing his designs; some of them were put to death by the colonists as Phillip's accomplices; some fell in battle in behalf of the whites; while others fell victims to the indiscriminating hatred of the low whites, whose passions, on the least provocation, broke out with hellish fury against the "praying Indians." In one instance, in 1676, when all the able-bodied Indians had fled to Canada, and when six or seven aged Indians, blind and lame, were left here in wigwams, too infirm to be removed, a party of scoundrels from Chelmsford came to Wamesit by night, set fire to these wigwams and burned all the invalids to death.* What is worse, so depraved was public sentiment during that period, these wanton and cowardly murderers were allowed to go unpunished. It was impossible to find a jury that would return a verdict of guilty against a white man who had killed an Indian, no matter under what circumstances of atrocity the murder had been committed.

During this war the white settlers in this region were gathered for protection in garrisons. Billerica escaped harm; but Chelmsford was twice visited by the partizans of Phillip, and several buildings were burned. Two sons of Samuel Varnum, living in what is now Dracut, were shot while crossing the Merrimack with their father in a boat.

In April, 1676, Captain Samuel Hunting and Lieutenant James Richardson, under orders from the Governor and Council, erected a fort at Pawtucket Falls, in which a garrison was

* See more of these atrocities in Cowley's *Indian and Pioneer Memories*; Gookin's *Christian Indians in Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 2; Oliver's *Puritan Commonwealth*; Willard *Memoir*.

placed, under command of Lieutenant Richardson. A month later, the garrison was reinforced, and Captain Thomas Henchman placed in command. This put an effectual check to the incursions of Phillip's party in this part of the colony.

When the war was over, and Wannalancet returned to Wamesit with the remains of his tribe, he found his corn fields in the hands of the whites, and he himself a stranger in the land of his fathers. By order of the General Court, he and his people were placed on Wickasauke Island, in charge of Colonel Jonathan Tyng of Dunstable. In 1686, Colonel Tyng, Major Henchman, and others, purchased of Wannalancet and his tribe all their remaining lands in this region, leaving them only their rights of hunting and fishing. At length, after passing through various vicissitudes, and doing numerous acts of kindness in return for the injuries which the colonists had inflicted on him, Wannalancet joined the St. Francis tribe in Canada, and ended his days among them.

During the nine years of King William's War, which followed the English Revolution of 1688, the people of all the towns of this region again took refuge in forts and fortified houses. The fort at Pawtucket Falls was occupied by a garrison under command of Major Henchman. But this did not entirely save them. On the first of August, 1692, a party of Indians, in league with the French in Canada, made a raid into Billerica, and killed eight of the inhabitants. On the fifth of August, 1695, a similar party made a raid into what is now Tewksbury, and killed fourteen of the people. A party of three hundred men, horse and foot, under Colonel Joseph Lynde, scoured all the neighboring country in vain, in search of the foe. From this officer, Lynde's Hill in Belvidere derives its name—he having fortified it, and for some time occupied it with his command.

In 1701, the town of Dracut was incorporated. It contained twenty-five families, and had previously formed a part of

Chelmsford.* It took its name from a parish in Wales, the original home of the Varnums.

Subsequent to the "Wamesit Purchase," made by Tyng and Henchman, already mentioned, the lands of the Indian Reservation were purchased in small parcels by various persons, who settled upon them as upon other lands in Chelmsford. But in 1725, when Samuel Pierce, who had his domicile on the Indian Reservation, was elected a member of the General Court, he was refused his seat, on the ground that he was not an inhabitant of Chelmsford. Thereupon the people of East Chelmsford, as Wamesit was then called, refused to pay taxes to Chelmsford; and to remedy this mischief, an act was passed annexing Wamesit to that town.

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1727, occurred the greatest earthquake ever known in this country. Walls and chimneys fell, and all the towns on the Merrimack suffered severely.

In 1734, the General Court incorporated the town of Tewksbury, the territory of which had previously belonged to Billerica. It took its name from the English parish of Tewksbury, on the Severn, in Gloucestershire, so famous in history as the scene of one of the bloodiest battles in the "Wars of the Roses." There the partisans of the House of York, under Edward the Fourth, and the partisans of the House of Lancaster, under the Amazonian Margaret, Queen of Henry the Sixth, encountered each other's battle-axes for the last time. There, after the battle, a Prince of Wales was barbarously murdered by two royal Dukes. There the glory of the royal House of Lancaster was eclipsed in blood.

In 1745, occurred the siege and capture of Louisburg. To the army which Sir William Pepperell led from Massachusetts against that renowned fortress, belonged young John Ford, and perhaps others, from what is now Lowell.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, two companies of Chelmsford men, one under Captain John Ford, the other under Captain

* Lowell Citizen and News, October, 1859.

Benjamin Walker, and one company composed largely of Dracut men, under Captain Peter Colburn, were present, and acquitted themselves with credit. There are two traditions connected with this event which must not be lost, notwithstanding the gigantic battles of the late Rebellion have thrown all the engagements of the Revolution into the shade. It is said that when the first man in Ford's company fell, his comrades, then for the first time under fire, were seized with panic; but thereupon one of Ford's officers began to sing Old Hundred in a firm voice, and this so reassured the men that they gave no further sign of panic. The other tradition of this battle is, that, just as the ammunition of the Americans was exhausted, and orders were given to retreat, a British officer mounted the breastworks, and, with a flourish of his sword, exclaimed, "Now, my boys, we have you." Hearing this, Captain Colburn of Dracut picked up a stone, about the size of a hen's egg, and, throwing it with all his might, hit the officer in the forehead, knocking him down backwards. The Captain and his men then hastily retreated with the rest of the American forces.

In November, 1776, committees from all the towns of this region met in convention at the house of Major Joseph Varnum in Dracut, and petitioned the colonial legislatures of Massachusetts and New Hampshire for a law to regulate prices, which had been fearfully enhanced by the Revolutionary War, then pending.* The proceedings of this convention show that its members participated in that ignorance of the principles of political economy, which was universal till the time of Adam Smith, and which is by no means dispelled in the days of John Stuart Mill.

This region has the honor of having contributed one of the most useful, though not one of the most brilliant, statesmen who served the American Colonies in their struggle for national independence—Simeon Spaulding of Chelmsford. He was a

* New Hampshire Historical Collections, vol. 2, pp. 58-68.

Colonel of Militia when the duties of the Militia, and the protection which it afforded, made that office one of real importance. From 1771 to 1775 he was a member of the General Court. From 1775 to 1778 he served in the Provincial Congress, and during one of these years was Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. He was also a member of the Convention of 1779, which framed the State Constitution. He died in 1785.*

During Shay's Rebellion, in 1786, a body of Chelmsford Militia served under General Lincoln in the western counties; and "on the memorable thirtieth of January," as Allen writes, "performed a march of thirty miles, without refreshment, through deep snows, in a stormy and severely cold night; a march that would have done honor to the veteran soldiers of Hannibal or Napoleon."

The people of Chelmsford, from the earliest period of their local history, gave every encouragement to millers, lumbermen, mechanics, and traders, making grants of land, with temporary exemption from taxation, to such as would settle in their town. Accordingly, Chelmsford became distinguished for its saw-mills, grist-mills, and mechanics' shops of various kinds. Establishments of the same kind also arose in Billerica, Dracut and Tewksbury.

It is but fair, though far from flattering, to record the fact, that the mother towns of Lowell were among the last to abandon slavery.† Till near the beginning of the present century, negro slaves were kept on what is now the Moor farm, and also on what afterward became known as the Livermore place, where Phillip Gedney, a former British Consul at Demarara, then resided.

Toward the close of the last century, this region became the theatre of an active business in wood and lumber. The forests along the shores of the Merrimack, which had never

* Allen's Chelmsford; Lowell Courier, September 23—29, 1859.

† See Moore's Slavery in Massachusetts.

before rung with the sound of the woodman's axe, afforded an exhaustless supply of materials for rafts, which already commanded a good price at Newburyport and other towns on the sea-board. But the descent of the river at Pawtucket Falls was so precipitous,—the current so violent, and the channel so rocky,—that great difficulty was experienced in passing rafts down the rapids. A canal round the falls for the passage of boats, rafts and masts was first suggested for the convenience of the lumbermen, thirty years before any one dreamed of using the waters for the purpose of manufactures; though from about the time of the Revolution there had been a saw-mill below Pawtucket Falls, driven by the Merrimack. It was owned about this time by John Tyng of Tyngsborough, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

In 1792, Dudley A. Tyng, William Coombs, and others, were incorporated as “The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River.”* They at once proceeded to open a canal, one and a half miles long, connecting Merrimack River above the falls with the Concord below. The level of the water in the lower end of the canal, a brief distance above the mouth of the Concord, was thirty-two feet lower than the level of the water at the upper end. The descent was accomplished by means of four sets of locks. The canal occupied less than five years in its construction, and cost fifty thousand dollars.

When the first boat passed down the canal in 1797, with the directors and other gentlemen on board, and hundreds of men, women and children as spectators on the banks, an incident occurred, of which Allen gives a very lively account. One side of the canal gave way; the water burst upon the people, and the greatest confusion ensued. “Infants were separated from their mothers, children from their parents, wives from their husbands, young ladies from their gallants; and men, women, timber, and broken boards and planks, were seen promiscuously floating in the water.” *Nantes—rari ap-*

* 7 Mass. Rep. p. 168.

parent in gurgite vasto. But no life was lost, and no serious injury incurred.

The stock of the Locks and Canals Company was divided into five hundred shares, owned by individuals in Middlesex and Essex Counties. But the dividends declared were never considerable; and the stock soon fell far below par in consequence of the successful competition of the Middlesex Canal with the business.

In the same year that the Locks and Canals Company were incorporated, Parker Varnum of Dracut and others were incorporated as "The Proprietors of the Middlesex Merrimack River Bridge," and the first bridge across the Merrimack was constructed by them at Pawtucket Falls. It was entirely of wood. Previous to this time, the only public conveyance over the Merrimack was by a toll ferry-boat. The Concord had been bridged nearly twenty years earlier.

In 1793, the Proprietors of the Middlesex Canal were incorporated. Mr. Weston, an eminent English engineer, was employed to survey the channel of the canal; and Loammi Baldwin of Woburn superintended its construction, and was the animating soul of the work. This canal began on the Merrimack, about a mile above Pawtucket Falls, extended south by east a distance of thirty-one miles, and terminated in Charlestown. It was completed in 1804, and cost seven hundred thousand dollars. It was twenty-four feet wide and four feet deep, and was fed by Concord River. In digging this canal, pine cones and charcoal were found, twelve feet below the surface, specimens of which were long exhibited in the Museum at Cambridge. The excavations made for this canal, and also those previously made for the Pawtucket Canal, disclosed unmistakable proofs that the channel of the Merrimack, in this vicinity, was once a considerable distance south and west of its present situation—that the Merrimack formerly ran by the southwest side of Fort Hill, instead of by the northeast side.

This Canal was the first in the United States that was opened for the transportation of passengers and merchandise; and some are still living who were often passengers in the neat little packet-boat, "Governor Sullivan," which plied between Boston and Lowell, through the waters of the Middlesex Canal, occupying nearly the whole day in the passage. Connecting Boston with the upper Merrimack, the channel of which was navigable the entire distance from Pawtucket Falls up to Concord, it formed an important artery for the lumber business, which had long been very extensive here, as well as for the new industries then in process of development. Vast quantities of timber grown around Winnepesaukee Lake, on the Merrimack and its branches, and on Massabesic Pond, and the produce of a great extent of fertile country, were transported to Boston by this canal.*

The first boat voyage from Boston, by the Middlesex Canal and the Merrimack River, to Concord, (N. H.), was made in the autumn of 1814. The first *steamboat* from Boston reached Concord in 1819. Had this canal been kept open until now, it is difficult to see why it might not still be profitably conducted. But its day has gone by, and its history may as well be ended here as hereafter.

As the competition of the Middlesex Canal ruinously reduced the value of the property of the Pawtucket Canal, so, in the retributive justice of years, other competition—the introduction of railroads—extinguished the value of the stock of the Middlesex Canal. A striking example of "the revenges of history." In 1853, navigation was discontinued in the canal, and soon afterward portions of its banks were levelled, and parts of the channel filled up. The income of the stock hardly averaged three and a half per cent.; and the proprietors, hopeless of any better dividends, disposed of all their saleable property, and abandoned their franchise, of which

* See Armory's Life of Governor Sullivan.

they had once been proud. On the third of October, 1859, the proprietors were declared, by a decree of the Supreme Judicial Court, to have forfeited all their franchises and privileges, by reason of non-feasance, non-user, misfeasance and neglect. Thus was the corporation forever extinguished.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURES.

Modern Factory System—Inventors—Kay—Paul—Wyatt—Hargreaves—Highs—Arkwright—Peel—Crompton—Watt—Cartwright—Bell—Berthollet—Scheele—Chivalry of Industry—France—Manufactures in the United States—Beverly—Byfield—Samuel Slater—Moses Hale—War. of 1812—Phineas Whiting—Josiah Fletcher—Oliver M. Whipple—Thomas Hurd—Winthrop Howe—Bridge over the Concord—Asahel Stearns—General Varnum.

The rise of the modern Factory System marks one of the grandest epochs in the progress of mankind. The arts of carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing and printing cotton, woollen and linen fabrics, have been practiced from the remotest ages of history, and were practiced in pre-historic times. Scarcely a century has elapsed since these arts were pursued as mere domestic handicrafts. No progress of moment had been made in them, no new implements had been introduced, for a thousand years. But during the closing forty years of the last century, these arts were raised from a state of utter insignificance to a national and world-wide importance, and were developed into the most elaborate and mature system of industry the world has ever seen.

As the great inventions which wrought this wonderful change were achieved long before the building of Lowell, a rapid account of them will be all that the purposes of this history require. But they can hardly be passed unnoticed, for without

them Lowell must have remained a border hamlet of an obscure town.

The first modern invention that led to any important improvement in manufacturing, was John Kay's fly-shuttle, patented in 1733, but strange to say, not introduced into this country for more than fifty years after it was first used in England.

In 1738, Lewis Paul obtained a patent for the first machinery for spinning,—invented, several years before, by John Wyatt. In 1740, manufacturing was commenced at Manchester, England. In 1748, Paul obtained a patent for the first cylinder carding-machine. In 1758, he obtained another patent for improved machinery for spinning.

In 1760, Robert Kay invented the drop-box, by which filling of different colors could be used in weaving with the fly-shuttle. In the same year, James Hargreaves constructed a carding-machine corresponding substantially with the carding-machines now in use. Two years later, Hargreaves obtained a patent for the spinning-jenny, which, however, seems to have been invented, in 1764, by Thomas Highs.

In 1769, Richard Arkwright obtained a patent for his spinning frame or throstle. Six years later, he obtained another patent for improvements in carding, drawing and spinning. In 1779, Robert Peel, father of the celebrated statesman, obtained a patent for improved machinery of the same kind. In the same year, Samuel Crompton combined the excellencies of Hargreaves' jenny with Arkwright's throstle, in a new spinning-machine, which, from its hybrid nature, he called a mule.

These triumphs of inventive skill led to the substitution, first, of horse-power for hand-power, and then of water-power for horse-power. The year 1789 was signalized by the application of steam-power to manufacturing purposes, one of James Watt's engines being introduced in a factory in Manchester.

In 1785, the Rev. Samuel Cartwright took out his first patent for the power-loom. Other similar patents were after-

ward taken out by him and by others; but power-loom weaving realized only partial success until after the dressing-frame had been invented by Radcliff, Ross and Johnson in 1803; and 1806 is the accepted date of the successful introduction of the power-loom into Manchester in England.

In 1785, Thomas Bell obtained his patent for cylinder printing. Calico printing, however, had been introduced by the Claytons, twenty years before. In the same year, Berthollet first applied chlorine (then called dephlogisticated muriatic acid) to bleaching. But Scheele, a Swedish chemist, had discovered the properties of chlorine in destroying vegetable colors, ten years prior to its application by Berthollet in France.

Thus, as an able writer says, "while Burke was lamenting the fall of chivalry, while Hastings was extending the British Empire in the East, and while Pitt was initiating his retrograde policy, men of that class which was destined to reap the most benefit from the transformation, were inaugurating the industrial system, destined to succeed the first, utilize the second, and destroy the third. From the weaver's cottage at Blackburn, and from the barber's shop at Preston, went forth powers as pregnant with consequences to Britain [and to the world] as ever issued from the Parliament-House at Westminster, or the Council-Chamber in Bengal."*

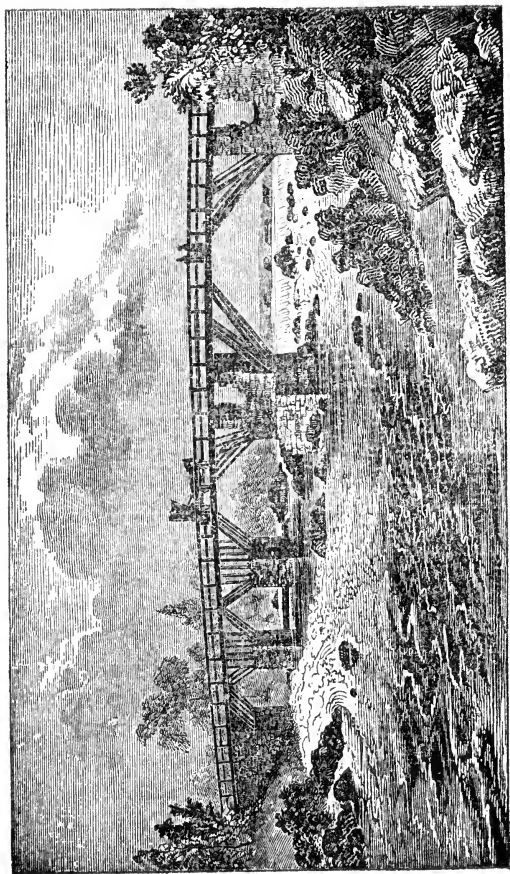
Other nations followed. In France, the genius of Napoleon introduced the Cotton Manufacture, including yarns, cloths, and prints. "Before the Empire, the art of spinning cotton was not known in France; and cotton clothes were imported from abroad."†

These inventions of the mechanical genius of Europe soon found their way to the United States. The first machinery for carding and spinning cotton put in operation in this country, was started at Beverly, in Massachusetts, in 1787, and was driven by horse-power. Other cotton factories were soon

* Westminster Review, April, 1861.

† Napoleon the Third's *Napoleonic Ideas*, p. 69.





PAWTUCKET FALLS AND BRIDGE.

afterward established in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey. But the year 1793—the same year in which Eli Whitney gave to the world his invaluable legacy of the Cotton Gin—is the generally accepted date of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States, since it was during that year that Samuel Slater—"the father of the Cotton Manufacture in America"—started his first cotton factory, with Arkwright machinery, driven by water-power, at Pawtucket in Rhode Island. By a singular coincidence of dates, in the same year, the first factory in this country, for carding and spinning *wool* by machinery, was started at Byfield in Massachusetts.

At the commencement of the present century, the cotton and woollen factories of Great Britain were counted by hundreds: and, perhaps, a dozen such factories had been started in the United States.*

This rapid survey of the rise of modern manufactures brings us to the starting of the first carding machine in the region of Lowell. It was in 1801 that Moses Hale, whose father had long before started a fulling mill in Dracut, established his carding mill on River Meadow Brook,—the first enterprise of the kind in Middlesex County. This mill still stands, between Hale's Mills and Whipple's Mills, and was one of the mills which for many years were run by the late Joshua Mather, a native of Preston, the town of Richard Arkwright, the great inventor and systematizer of cotton-spinning machinery in England. A saw-mill was also started about the same time by Mr. Hale, on the same stream.

In 1805, the bridge built across Merrimack River at Pawtucket Falls in 1792, was demolished, and a new bridge, with stone piers and abutments, constructed in its place, at a cost exceeding fourteen thousand dollars. This bridge is still

*See Batchelder's valuable little book on the Cotton Manufacture; Bains' History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain; Bishop's History of American Manufactures; White's Memoir of Samuel Slater, etc.

standing, though essential improvements have been made in it from time to time. It was made free in 1860.

The year 1812 brought the second war between the United States and Great Britain, when British cruisers swept our commerce from the seas. Until then, most of our manufactured goods had been imported from England. Domestic manufactures there were comparatively none, except such domestic fabrics as were spun upon the spinning-wheel, and woven upon the hand-loom, by the dames of the rural districts. No sooner was importation stopped by the war, than imported fabrics commanded famine prices. Public attention was irresistibly attracted, and a powerful impetus given, to American manufactures. Large investments of capital were made; and mills started up all over the Union, but more especially in Massachusetts. Such of them as were started here, were driven by Concord River power. No "wizard of mechanism" had yet laid his hand on the lordly Merrimack, and put it on duty, like a chained convict or a galley slave.

In 1813, twenty-six years after the first attempt in the United States to manufacture cotton by machinery was made at Beverly, Captain Phineas Whiting and Major Josiah Fletcher erected a wooden cotton-mill on the present site of the Middlesex Company's mills, at an outlay of about three thousand dollars, and carried on the business with some success. John Golding entered upon a similar enterprise near by, about the same time, but failed.

The year 1815 is associated with the tradition of the most disastrous gale that had swept New England since the famous gale of 1635, when the tide rose twenty feet perpendicularly in Narragansett Bay. It was particularly severe in the town of Chelmsford, then including Lowell. It "spread the ruin round," like a devastating fire. Not less than fifty thousand cords of standing timber, besides several houses, were destroyed,—the trees being torn up by the roots, and the houses removed from their foundations.

The saw-mill and grist-mill of the Messrs. Bowers, at Pawtucket Falls, were started in 1816. About the same time, another grist-mill was started by Nathan Tyler, where the Middlesex Company's Mill No. 3 now stands. At the junction of the Concord and Merrimack rivers, stood the saw-mill of Captain John Ford. There is a tradition, not very well authenticated, that Captain Ford once killed an Indian by pitching him into the wheel-pit of this saw-mill; the Indian being on the watch for a chance to take the life of the captain, who had killed one of his brothers during a former war.

In 1818, Moses Hale started the powder-mills on Concord River, with forty pestles. Mr. Oliver M. Whipple and Mr. William Tileston of Boston engaged in the business with Mr. Hale in 1819. In 1821, Whipple's Canal was opened by them. In the same year, Moses Hale disposed of his interest in the business to David Hale, who retained his connection with it till 1827, when he in turn sold out to his partners, and became editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce*. Mr. Tileston retired in 1829, and Mr. Whipple remained as sole proprietor till 1855, when the manufacture of powder was discontinued in Lowell. The business was enlarged from time to time, and was in its zenith during the Mexican War. Nearly a million pounds of powder were manufactured here during a single year of that contest. Mr. Whipple amassed a handsome fortune by the manufacture of this "destructive element." When Mr. Whipple first came to Lowell, in 1818, his whole capital was but six hundred dollars. His subsequent success in his business operations entitles him to a high place among those who, without the aid of inherited wealth, make their own fortunes, and conquer their own position in the world.

In 1818, Thomas Hurd removed to East Chelmsford (as we must still call Lowell), and purchased the cotton mill, started five years before, by Whiting & Fletcher. He converted it into a woollen mill, and ran sixteen hand-loom for the manufacture of satinets. He also built a larger brick mill for the

manufacture of the same class of goods. Mr. Hurd's mill was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt in 1826. About this time, being in want of additional power, he built the Middlesex Canal, conveying water from Pawtucket Canal to his satinet mills. Mr. Hurd was the first man in this country who manufactured satinet by water-power, having had a mill at Stoneham before he came to Lowell. He continued to run these works until the great re-action of trade in 1828, when he became bankrupt, and the property, in 1830, passed into the hands of the Middlesex Company.

About the time of Mr. Hurd's appearance here, Winthrop Howe started a mill for the manufacture of flannels at Wamesit Falls in Belvidere. Mr. Howe continued to manufacture flannels by hand-loom till 1827, when he sold his mill to Harrison G. Howe, who introduced power-loom in lieu of hand-loom, and continued the business till 1831, when he sold it to John Nesmith and others.

The bridge built across the Concord near its mouth in 1774, was demolished in 1819, and its place supplied by a superior structure. The bridge on East Merrimack Street, connecting Belvidere with the main part of the city, stands near the site of the bridge of 1819, the last-named bridge having been several times renewed.

The dam across Concord River at Massic Falls, where Richmond's Batting Mills now stand, was constructed about this time, and a Forging Mill established, by Messrs. Fisher & Ames. Their works were considerably extended in 1823, and continued by them till 1836, when they sold their privilege to Perez O. Richmond.

While new men were thus coming to this place, an old and distinguished resident—Asahel Stearns—removed elsewhere. He was the pioneer lawyer of this vicinity, and has scarcely had a superior among all his successors. He was born at Lunenburg, June 17, 1774, and graduated at Harvard in 1797. He was educated for the bar, admitted to practice about 1800, and married the same year. He opened an office near Paw-

tucket Falls, where he practiced law till 1817. He was for several years District Attorney; Member of Congress in 1815-17; and in the latter year was appointed Professor of Law at Harvard, which position in 1829 he resigned. He published, in 1824, a work of much celebrity on the Law of Real Actions, and was a Commissioner with Judge Jackson and Mr. Pickering to revise the Statutes of the Commonwealth. He died at Cambridge, February 5, 1839, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was a learned and skillful lawyer, a zealous advocate, a gentleman of suavity, integrity and kindness.

Within a few years after the removal of Mr. Stearns, occurred the death of the most distinguished man of the Merrimack Valley—Major-General Varnum of Dracut. Born in 1751, Joseph B. Varnum had accomplished the “three score years and ten” which the Psalmist allots to man, when, in 1821, he received that summons which no child of mortality can ever disobey. The record of his life shows him to have been continually in office; and the traditions that have survived him represent him as a man of extraordinary native powers, highly developed, not so much by books as by contact with men and events. He was a Captain of Militia at the age of eighteen, through the Revolution, and until 1787, when he became a Colonel. In 1802, he was made Brigadier-General, and three years later Major-General, which rank he retained till his death. From 1780 to 1795, he was an active member of the Massachusetts Legislature. As President of the Senate, he presided at the trial of Judge Prescott, and had a rough “passage” with Daniel Webster, who was Prescott’s counsel. He was a member of the Convention which framed the State Constitution in 1780, and of the Convention which revised it in 1820. From 1795 to 1817, he was a member of Congress; for four of these years he was Speaker of the House, and for one year he was President *pro tempore* of the Senate. The traveller from Lowell on the Methuen road often turns aside, in passing through Dracut, to read his epitaph on the head-stone which stands where his ashes repose.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST MANUFACTURING CORPORATION.

The Waltham Company—The Lowell Family—Judge Lowell—John Lowell—Francis C. Lowell—Patrick T. Jackson—Nathan Appleton—Introduction of the Power-Loom—Paul Moody—Death of Francis C. Lowell—John Lowell, Junior.

ONE of the most interesting events connected with the early history of the Cotton Manufacture in America, was the introduction of the power-loom, in 1814, at Waltham. The chief actor in this enterprise was FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, from whom our city was so appropriately named. Among the others were Patrick Tracy Jackson, Nathan. Appleton, and Paul Moody, who afterward became the fathers of Lowell, and introduced here "the Waltham system," in all its details of factory machinery, factory boarding-houses, and wages paid monthly in cash. Some account of these men and of this Waltham enterprise must therefore be given before we proceed to the building of the mills at Lowell.

The Lowells are among the most distinguished families in America, and are the descendants of Percival Lowell, who emigrated from Cleaveland, near Bristol, in England, and settled in Newbury in 1639. The first member of this family who achieved any particular distinction was the Hon. John Lowell, father of Francis Cabot Lowell, and son of the Rev. John Lowell, the first minister of Newburyport. He was a leading member of the Provincial Assembly in 1776, and of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780. He was the principal champion of the movement for the abolition of slavery in this State in 1783,—an active and influential member of the Continental Congress,—Judge of the Court of Appeals in Admiralty,—appointed by Congress,—and the first Judge of the District Court of Massachusetts, by appointment of President Washington.

Judge Lowell died in 1802. His sons all rose to distinction. One of them, John Lowell, always refused to accept public office, but wielded a controlling influence in the Federal party for more than twenty years,—held the highest rank in the profession of the Law,—was one of the founders of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Savings Bank, the Hospital Life Insurance Company, and other institutions for the public good, and died of apoplexy in 1840, at the age of seventy years.

Francis Cabot Lowell, another son of the distinguished Judge Lowell, was born in Newburyport, April 7th, 1774, and graduated at Harvard in 1783. He engaged in mercantile business, with good success, in Boston. His friend and associate, Patrick Tracy Jackson, was also born in Newburyport, in 1780, and was the son of the Hon. Jonathan Jackson, who was a member of the Continental Congress in 1782, and filled other distinguished positions in State and Nation. As Marshal of the District of Massachusetts, by appointment of President Washington, the father of Mr. Jackson served the monitions, etc., issued by the father of Mr. Lowell, as Judge of the District Court.

Nathan Appleton was one year senior to Mr. Jackson, and five years junior to Mr. Lowell, having been born in 1779, at New Ipswich in New Hampshire. In 1794, he engaged in commercial pursuits, at Boston, with his brother, Samuel Appleton, whose partner he became as soon as he attained his majority, in 1800. In the next year, business called him to Europe. While in France, he met Napoleon Bonaparte, then firmly seated in the Consular Chair, and preparing to ascend the Imperial Throne,—his star burning brightly in the zenith, —his brow radiant with the glory of Marengo. In 1810, Appleton's business again called him to Europe. In 1811, at Edinburgh, he met his Boston friend, Francis Cabot Lowell; and the meeting, as we shall see, proved prolific of results.

The restraints imposed on commerce, which finally culminated in the war of 1812, led Mr. Lowell to close his business as a merchant; and in 1810, on account of the feebleness of his health, he visited England with his family, and spent two years in that country and in Scotland. While there, his mind became deeply impressed with the importance of manufacturing industry as a source of national wealth; and he took pains to make himself master of all the information that was obtainable, touching the machinery and processes that had been introduced by the manufacturers of Great Britain, with a view to their introduction into the United States. It was while full of these plans that he met Mr. Appleton at Edinburgh, as already stated. Mr. Appleton entered readily into his designs, urged him to go on with them, and promised coöperation.

In 1813, Lowell returned to Boston, with a fixed idea that the Cotton Manufacture, then monopolized by Great Britain, could be successfully introduced here. He saw and admitted that the advantages of cheap labor, abundant capital, superior skill, and established reputation, were all on the side of the English. But the raw cotton could be procured cheaper here; water-power was more abundant than in England; and he thought that the superior intelligence and enterprise of the American population would ensure the success of the Cotton Manufacture in these States, in spite of the competition of all Europe.

Mr. Lowell communicated these ideas to his brother-in-law and fellow-townsmen, Patrick Tracy Jackson, whose business had been suspended by the war then flagrant between Great Britain and the United States. Jackson eagerly enlisted in the enterprise, and was not discouraged by difficulties which would have thwarted a less resolute man. The result was, the incorporation of Messrs. Lowell, Jackson, Appleton and others as the Boston Manufacturing Company, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, followed by the purchase of water-

power at Waltham, and the successful starting of the power-loom in 1814.*

The Waltham power-loom, in so far as it differed from the power-loom previously introduced in Great Britain, was the sole product of Mr. Lowell's genius; and his success is the more remarkable from the fact that he had no model to go by, but only his own recollections of his observations in Europe, aided by imperfect drawings, brought with him on his return. 10

Being in want of a practical mechanic, Mr. Lowell and his associates secured Paul Moody, whose mechanical skill was well known, and whose success fully justified the choice. Mr. Moody was born in Amesbury in 1777, and had been for some time engaged in the manufacturing business in that town, in connection with Mr. Ezra Worthen. His aid was invaluable in the starting of the first mill at Waltham, though he did not remove to reside there till 1814.

The original design of Messrs. Lowell and Jackson was only to start a weaving-mill, and to buy their yarn of others. No such establishment as a mill where raw cotton was manufactured into finished cloth, without going through different hands, and forming two distinct businesses, was then dreamed of. The practice was to run spinning-mills and weaving-mills as separate establishments. But as soon as their loom was completed, they found it expedient to spin their own yarn, rather than to buy it of others. They accordingly fitted up a mill with seventeen hundred spindles, at Waltham.

Their sizing-machine they constructed by improving upon Horrock's dressing-machine, patented in England. Mr. Lowell and Mr. Moody both had a hand in the invention of their double-speeder for spinning. The mathematical scholarship of Mr. Lowell was as indispensable to its success as the mechan-

* The first *broad* power-loom was constructed and started in 1817, at Goshen, Conn., by Lewis M. Norton, who obtained the idea of it from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Mr. Norton, however, realized poor success in the manufacture of broadcloth. See his Letter to Samuel Lawrence, *Lowell Courier*, April 22, 1843.

ical ingenuity of Mr. Moody. The peculiar invention of Mr. Moody was the filling-throstle. The machines invented or improved by these ingenious men were substantially the same as those now in use, though subsequent inventions have still further improved and perfected them.

The enterprise proved a splendid success; the capital stock of the Company was increased, first to four hundred thousand, and afterward to six hundred thousand dollars, and the business extended as far as the water-power of Waltham and Watertown would permit. The original suggestion and most of the chief plans were made by Mr. Lowell, who was the informing soul of the whole proceeding; and when the enterprise was fairly started, the general management of it was committed to Mr. Jackson.

While cotton cloth was selling at thirty-three cents per yard, Mr. Lowell, fired with the presentiment of what his plans would accomplish, predicted to a friend, that "within fifty years, cotton cloth would be sold for four-pence a yard." The prediction was called "visionary" then; but it has long since been realized. Our far-sighted adventurers were frequently advised, by meddlesome outsiders and gossiping Mrs. Grundys, that they would soon overdo their new business. No sooner did one mill send forth its cloth, than all agreed that it would be the last. The markets would be glutted. Goods would lie by, and rot in the warehouses. Bankruptcy, ruin, pauperism, would ensue. But our adventurers kept right on, paying no attention to the Mrs. Grundys. True, they saw not all the future, nor "half the wonders that would be;" but they remained firm in the conviction that by improved machinery they could compete successfully with England in all the markets of the globe; and experience has proved that this conviction was not without foundation.

The peace of 1815 proved ruinous to many of our manufacturers, whose business had been greatly inflated by the war. In 1816, a new tariff was to be made; and Mr. Lowell visited

Washington, to impress upon members of Congress the importance, the prospects and the dangers of the Cotton Manufacture, and the policy of shielding it from foreign competition by legislative protection. Constitutional objections have often, in more recent times, been urged against the protective system. No objection of this kind was then heard of. The New England States were too exclusively engaged in commerce to listen to him; but the Middle States favored the new plan. The States of the West were divided; the South, as usual, held the balance of power; and Mr. Lowell's appeal to the interests of the Southern planters prevailed. The famous minimum duty of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per square yard on imported cotton fabrics was proposed by Mr. Lowell, recommended by Mr. Lowndes, advocated by Mr. Calhoun, and incorporated into the tariff of 1816.

In this way, American Manufactures were protected from British competition, and nursed into a vigorous life. It is to this provision of law, says Mr. Everett, that "New England owes that branch of industry which has made her amends for the diminution of her foreign trade; which has kept her prosperous under the exhausting drain of her population to the West; which has brought a market for his agricultural produce to the farmer's door; and which, while it has conferred these blessings on this part of the country, has been productive of good, and nothing but good, to every portion of it."

The whole credit of this policy is due to Mr. Lowell. But he did not live to witness the realization of his plans. "Man proposes, but God disposes." He died in Boston, September 2d, 1817, at the age of forty-three; and committed to others the completion of his vast designs. Like his brother, the eminent lawyer, he shunned public office; but he contributed more than a thousand of the common herd of hum-drum statesmen to the advancement of national industry and well-being. As Mr. Everett eloquently says: "In the great Temple of Nature,—whose foundations are the earth,—whose pillars are the eternal hills,—whose roof is the star-lit sky,—whose organ

tones are the whispering breeze and the sounding storm,—whose architect is God,—there is no ministry more sacred than that of the INTELLIGENT MECHANIC.”*

His son, John Lowell, was worthy of his sire. Wandering amid the ruins of Thebes, and feeling the approaches of death, by his last will, “penned with a tired hand on the top of a palace of the Pharaohs,” he made a princely bequest of \$240,000 to found the Lowell Institute at Boston.

CHAPTER IV.

MANUFACTURING HISTORY OF LOWELL.

Purchase of Pawtucket Canal—First Visit—Merrimack Company—Reconstruction of the Canal—Kirk Boott—Ezra Worthen—Paul Moody—Warren Colburn—Calico Printing—John D. Prince—Management of the Merrimack Company—Re-organization of the Locks and Canals Company—James B. Francis—Hamilton Company—Samuel Batchelder—Management of the Hamilton—Appleton Company—Lowell Company—Proposed Reform in Sales—Middlesex Company—Ruin and Re-organization—Suffolk Company—Tremont—Lawrence—Bleachery—Boott Company—Belvidere Company—Perez O. Richmond—Massachusetts Company—Dismissal of Operatives—Men of whom more might have been made—Whitney Mills—Machine Shop—Prescott Company—Miscellaneous Manufacturers and Mechanics—Increased Productivity in the Future.

In 1821, Messrs. Appleton and Jackson, elated with the splendid success of their establishment at Waltham, were looking about for water-power for operations on a more gigantic scale. In September, 1821, they examined the water-fall at Souhegan, but found it insufficient. In returning, they passed the Nashua River, but they were not aware of the existence of the fall which the Nashua Company have since improved;

* See Edward Everett's Memoir of John Lowell; Robert C. Winthrop's Memoir of Nathan Appleton; John A. Lowell's Memoir of Patrick T. Jackson; Nathan Appleton's Introduction of the Power-Loom and Origin of Lowell, etc.

neither were they aware of the existence of the water-power of the Pawtucket Canal. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Moody, while on a visit to Amesbury, mentioned to Ezra Worthen that the company at Waltham were in quest of water-power. Mr. Worthen had been familiar with Pawtucket Falls from his boyhood, and very naturally replied, "Why don't they buy up Pawtucket Canal? That will give them all the power of Merrimack River. They can put up as many mills as they please there, and never want for water."

On returning to Waltham, Mr. Moody went out of his way to look at the canal, and Mr. Worthen accompanied him. Arriving at Waltham, they related to Mr. Jackson a description of the place, and Mr. Worthen chalked out upon the floor a map of Merrimack River, including both Pawtucket Falls and the Canal. Mr. Jackson listened eagerly to their story, and was soon convinced that a large manufacturing town could here be built up. The great idea of possessing himself of the whole power of Merrimack River filled his mind; and with characteristic sagacity, he at once put himself in communication with Thomas M. Clark, of Newburyport, the Agent of the Pawtucket Canal Company, and secured the refusal of most of the shares of the stock of that Company at less than par.

Mr. Appleton and Kirk Boott entered eagerly into the enterprise with Mr. Jackson, and, through the agency of Mr. Clark and others, all the stock of the Canal Company was purchased, and some of the lands needed for using the water-power. But the wisest men cannot foresee everything. Four farms, containing about four hundred acres, covering what is now the most densely peopled portion of Lowell, were bought at from one to two hundred dollars per acre; and most of the lands thus purchased were afterward sold at from twelve cents to a dollar per foot. But there was a great deal more land which the founders of Lowell then overlooked; and when these lands were wanted, the proprietors were shrewd enough to fix their own prices, and at a pretty high figure too.

The value of land was of course suddenly largely enhanced. For example:—Nine undivided tenths of the Moses Cheever farm were bought in 1821 for eighteen hundred dollars; and the owner of the other one-tenth had agreed to convey the same for two hundred dollars. Before he had conveyed it, however, he died, suddenly, insolvent; and the one-tenth was sold by order of court. But such had been the increase in its value, that the Locks and Canals Company paid upward of three thousand dollars for seven and a half-tenths of it; and the remaining two and a half-tenths were sold, one year afterward, for upward of five thousand dollars.*

In November, 1821, Nathan Appleton, Patrick T. Jackson, Kirk Boott, Warren Dutton, Paul Moody, and John W. Boott, made a visit to the canal, perambulated the ground, and scanned the capabilities of the place; and the remark was made that some of them might live to see the place contain twenty thousand inhabitants. Nathan Appleton did, indeed, live to see it contain nearly forty thousand. Here, in the vicinity of Boston, was a river, with a water-shed of four thousand square miles, delivering its volume of water over a fall of thirty feet. Evidently, the Manchester of America was to be here.

On the fifth of February, 1822, these gentlemen and others were incorporated as the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, with Warren Dutton as President. Their capital, at first, was \$600,000; but this capital has been four times increased, and is now \$2,500,000. The first business of the new company was to erect the dam across the Merrimack at Pawtucket Falls, widen and deepen Pawtucket Canal, renew the locks, and open a lateral canal from the main canal to the river, on the margin of which their mills were to stand. Five hundred men were employed in digging and blasting, and six thousand pounds of powder were used. The canal, as reconstructed, is sixty feet

* Miles's Lowell as it Was and as it Is.





Yrs truly
Frank Poole

wide, and eight feet deep, and capable of supplying fifty mills. It has three sets of locks.

In deepening this canal, ledges were uncovered, which showed indisputable marks of the attrition of water. Many cavities were found in the ledge, such as are usual where there are water-falls, worn by stones kept in motion by the water. Some of these cavities measured a foot or more in diameter, and two feet in depth. Here had once been the channel of the Merrimack.

The first mill of the company was completed, and the first wheel started, September 1st, 1823. The first return of cloth was made in the following November. The bricks used in building the mills of this and the succeeding manufacturing corporations, were boated chiefly from Bedford and Merrimack, in New Hampshire.

The first Treasurer and Agent was Kirk Boott. He was born in Boston in 1791; and received an academic education at the famous Rugby School in England. He entered Harvard College, but never graduated. His tastes being military, a commission was purchased for him; and he served five years as an officer in the British Army. He fought under Wellington in the Peninsular War, and commanded a detachment of troops at the siege of San Sebastian, in 1813. His courage was perfectly bullet-proof. When the wars of Napoleon ended with his captivity at St. Helena, Boott resigned his commission, and, in 1817, returned to Boston. Through the intimacy that arose between him and Mr. Jackson, while the latter was agent of the mills at Waltham, he was employed as the company's agent. He established himself here in the spring of 1822, took charge of the mills, and infused into the whole place much of his own determined spirit and unconquerable will. He became, by the general consent of all, *the man* of the place, so that for fifteen years the history of Lowell was little more than the biography of Kirk Boott.

Ezra Worthen removed here at the same time with Mr. Boott, and his services as superintendent were of inestimable value. Like Mr. Lowell, Mr. Worthen was not permitted to see even "the beginning of the end" of his plans. He died June 18th, 1824.

Mr. Moody also removed here from Waltham, in 1823, and took the charge of the company's machine shop. This shop was completed in 1825, and cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He remained in this position during a period of eight years, when his labors were terminated by death, July 5th, 1831. Born and bred a mechanic, Mr. Moody was none the less a gentleman. Skill in mechanism was his forte; but his general capacity was large; and when he died, all felt that one of the ablest citizens, and one of the most estimable men, had fallen.

The place left vacant by Mr. Worthen, in 1824, was subsequently filled by Warren Colburn, the distinguished author of a series of popular school-books on Arithmetic. Mr. Colburn was born in Dedham in 1793, and graduated at Harvard University in 1820, at the ripe age of twenty-seven years. He was distinguished while at college for his assiduous devotion to the mathematics. After graduating, he engaged as a school-teacher in Boston, and while thus employed prepared those works on Arithmetic which have forever intimately associated his name with that science. Prior to Mr. Worthen's decease, Mr. Colburn had acquired some experience in charge of the mills at Waltham. His abilities were such as amply enabled him to fill Mr. Worthen's place. "He readily perceived and appreciated the peculiar character of a manufacturing community in New England, and projected at once a scheme of lecturing, adapted to popular improvement."* He actually delivered in Lowell several courses of the best Lyceum Lectures, several years before any popular Lyceums were organized at all. He

* See Edson's excellent Memoir of Warren Colburn, in Barnard's American Journal of Education, September, 1856.





JOHN D. PRINCE.

died September 13th, 1833. Though he filled no higher offices than those of factory superintendent, church warden, school committee, college committee, lyceum lecturer and writer of school-books, Mr. Colburn was nevertheless one of the great men of America. Here he will be especially remembered for his efforts, in connection with Rev. Dr. Edson, to build up, upon a permanent basis, that complete system of public schools, which is the pride of the place.

The successors of Mr. Colburn as Superintendents of the Merrimack Mills have been, from 1833 to 1848, John Clark; in 1848, Emory Washburn, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth; in 1849, Edmund Le Breton; from 1850 to 1866, Isaac Hinckley, who was succeeded by John C. Palfrey.

The founders of the Merrimack Company had from the first contemplated the introduction of calico-printing. "I was of opinion," says Appleton, "that the time had arrived, when the manufacture and printing of calicos might be successfully introduced into this country."* And although calicos were probably printed at Taunton and Dover before they were at Lowell, the attempt was first begun here, under Allan Pollock. The printing business, however, was not perfected to any considerable degree until 1826, when the late John D. Prince, senior, resigned his position at Manchester in England to take the Superintendency of the Merrimack Print Works. Here he remained till 1855, when Henry W. Burrows succeeded him. The skill of Mr. Prince, assisted by Dr. Samuel L. Dana as chemist, won for the Merrimack Prints an unequalled renown in all parts of the globe. On his retirement, the Company gave him an annuity of \$2,000 per annum. He did not, however, live long to enjoy it, but died suddenly, January 5th, 1860, at the age of eighty years, leaving to us, and to the Lowellians of the future, the grateful memory of a fine old English gentlemen,—“one of the real old stock,”—

* Origin of Lowell, p. 17.

who dispensed to his friends a baronial hospitality, and to the poor a charity that was as liberal as his own resources.

The Merrimack Company have divided upon an average a dividend of thirteen per cent. on their stock. For many years, fabrics bearing their imperial name have commanded a cent a yard more than the fabrics of other companies equal in cost and equal in intrinsic quality. Such a result can only be ascribed to the consummate ability of the Company's managers. Voltaire said, he knew many merchants in Amsterdam, of more penetration and administrative ability than Ximenes, Mazarin or Richelieu. So may we say, that the men whose sagacity achieved such remarkable success in the business of manufacturing, were men of far higher calibre than those who have generally presided over the Executive Departments at Washington.

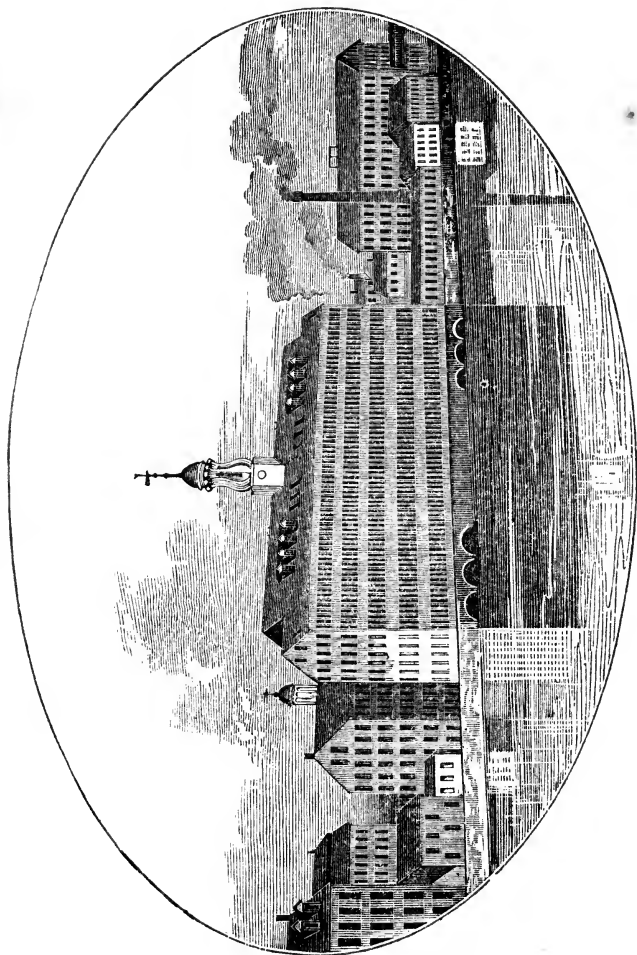
During the late War, however, the Merrimack Company showed great "lack of sagacity and forethought"—in stopping their mills—in dismissing their operatives—in discontinuing the purchase of cotton—and in selling their fabrics at a slight advance on their peace prices, and at less than the actual cost of similar fabrics at the time of sale. Had they not committed this stupendous blunder, they might have realized many millions of dollars during the War. But instead of boldly running, as companies elsewhere did, they took counsel of their fears, and their spacious mills stood on the bank

"As idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean."

The blunders of this company were naturally copied by others—the younger companies being accustomed to "dress" on the Merrimack. In this instance, the blunders of the older company were not only copied, but exaggerated and intensified to a fatal degree. The other cotton companies actually sold out their cotton, and several of them made abortive experiments in other branches of manufactures, by which they incurred

* Report of the Committee of the Proprietors, 1863.





MERRIMACK MILL, NO 6.

losses, direct and indirect, exceeding the amount of their entire capital. It is but fair to add, that most of these abortive experiments were made in opposition to the judgment of the local agents.

The Merrimack have five mills and print works, with 100,000 spindles, and 2,450 looms. When all are in operation, they employ 1,700 females and 700 males. Their weekly consumption of cotton is 80,000 pounds, and their return of cloth 450,000 yards. They print 500,000 yards per week of Prints, No. 30 to 37, and Chintzes.

In 1825, the old Locks and Canals Company of 1792 was reestablished as a separate corporation. The Merrimack Company, at the time of their incorporation, owned the original charter of the Locks and Canals Company, the entire water-power of Merrimack River, and the lands abutting thereon. The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals were now reorganized, with an amendment to their charter, allowing them to purchase, hold, sell or lease land and water-power, to the amount of \$600,000. The Merrimack Company conveyed to the Locks and Canals Company all their water-power and all their lands; and then so much of it as was required for their own purposes, was reconveyed to the Merrimack Company. By this arrangement, the Merrimack Company was placed upon the same basis as other manufacturing companies more recently established. The Locks and Canals Company had other objects to pursue. The affairs of this company, in addition to those of the Merrimack, were placed in the master hand of Kirk Boott. On the death of Mr. Boott, in 1837, Joseph Tilden became Agent for one year, when Patrick T. Jackson succeeded him. Mr. Jackson was succeeded for a short time by William Boott. In 1845, James B. Francis was appointed Agent, and in this position, which he has ever since retained, he has earned the distinction of the best water-engineer in the United States. He had been eleven years engineer of this company, when the duties of Agent were superadded to his duties as engineer. At first,

he was associated with that excellent engineer, George W. Whistler, father of James Whistler, the gifted artist.

For twenty years, the business of this company was, to furnish land and water-power, and build mills and machinery for the various manufacturing companies successively organized in Lowell. After all the mill-powers were disposed of, another reorganization took place. The standard adopted for a mill-power was the power required to run the second mill built at Waltham, which contained 3584 spindles,—or the right to draw twenty-five cubic feet of water per second, on a fall of thirty feet, being about sixty horse power.* This company have never engaged in manufacturing operations. They kept in operation two machine shops, a foundry, and a saw-mill, until 1845, when the Lowell Machine Shop was incorporated to take the charge of this business. They constructed all the mill-canals to supply the various companies with water-power, and erected most of the mills, and the boarding-houses attached to them, together with most of the machinery which they severally contain. They employed constantly from five to twelve hundred men, and built two hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth of machinery per annum. The stock was long the best of which Lowell could boast, being worth thrice, and even four times its par value. Their present business is to superintend the use of the water-power, which is leased by them to the several companies. Their stock is held by these companies in the same proportion in which they hold the water-power.

The first sale of water-power was to the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1825, with a capital of \$600,000, afterward increased to \$1,200,000. The first Agent of this Company was Samuel Batchelder. It was under his skillful management that the power-loom was here first applied to twilled and fancy goods, and that cotton drills were first manufactured. Mr. Batchelder was born at Jaffrey, in New Hampshire, in 1784, five years before the first cotton mill was started

* Appleton's Origin of Lowell, p. 28.

in America. He assisted in starting one of the first cotton mills in his native State, in 1807. On quitting the Hamilton, he assisted in establishing the York Mills at Saco, Maine, of which he has been for many years Treasurer, as well as of the Everett Mills at Lawrence. With his remarkable business habits, he has always combined the love of books; and his work on the Cotton Manufacture is one of the most valuable contributions yet made to the literature of that prolific theme. Mr. Batchelder was followed in the Agency of the Hamilton, in 1831, by the late John Avery, to whom in 1864 Oliver H. Moulton succeeded.

Following the example of the Merrimack, the Hamilton Company established Print Works, of which the late William Spencer was Superintendent till his death, September 27th, 1862. William Hunter was then appointed Superintendent, and to him in 1863 succeeded William Harley.

The management of the Hamilton during the War was particularly unfortunate. Not only were the mistakes of the Merrimack repeated here; but—what was worse—when the War was drawing to a close, the Hamilton threw out a large portion of their cotton machinery, and put in a lot with which to manufacture woollen goods, and purchased a large stock of fine wool, paying for this machinery and wool the ruinous prices which the War had entailed. Thus, they superadded to their losses by the War, a new category of losses caused by the collapse of prices on the return of peace.

The Hamilton have five mills and print works, with 51,268 spindles and 1,348 looms, requiring the labor of 850 females and 425 males. Their weekly consumption of cotton is 50,000 pounds, and of clean wool 10,000. Their weekly product is 235,000 yards of Delaines, Flannels, Prints, Ticks, Sheetings, and Shirtings, No. 10 to No. 53. The number of yards printed per week is 120,000, and the number dyed is 6,000.

In 1828, the Appleton Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$600,000. John Avery was their Agent

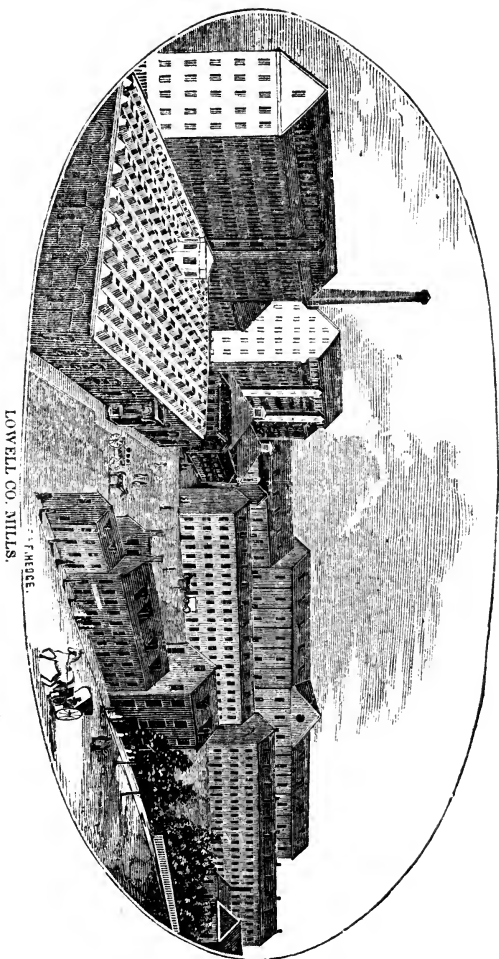
till 1831, when George Motley succeeded him. It was in the mills of this company that Uriah A. Boyden's famous turbine water-wheels were first used with success.* Though the managers of the Appleton, during the late War, shared, for a time, the delusion that the country would have "peace in sixty days," and under that delusion sold their cotton, and allowed their mills to stand idle, they acquired, quicker than many others, a true view of the national situation; and the management of this company, when tested by its results during a period of nearly forty years, must be pronounced successful in an eminent degree.

The Appleton have three mills, with 20,608 spindles, and 717 looms. They employ, when running to their full capacity, 400 females and 120 males. Their weekly consumption of cotton is 50,000 pounds, and their weekly return of cloth is 130,000 yards of Sheetings and Shirtings, Nos. 14 and 20.

In 1828, the Lowell Manufacturing Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$900,000, since increased to \$2,000,000. In starting their jacquard looms they employed Claudius Wilson, one of the most ingenious and useful mechanics that has ever appeared in Lowell, who emigrated from Scotland to enter this company's service. This company's mills were the first in the world where power-looms were introduced for weaving woollen carpets. These looms were invented by E. B. Bigelow, and rank among the most wonderful triumphs of mechanical genius the world has ever witnessed. Alexander Wright was Agent of this Company till his death in 1852, when Samuel Fay succeeded him.

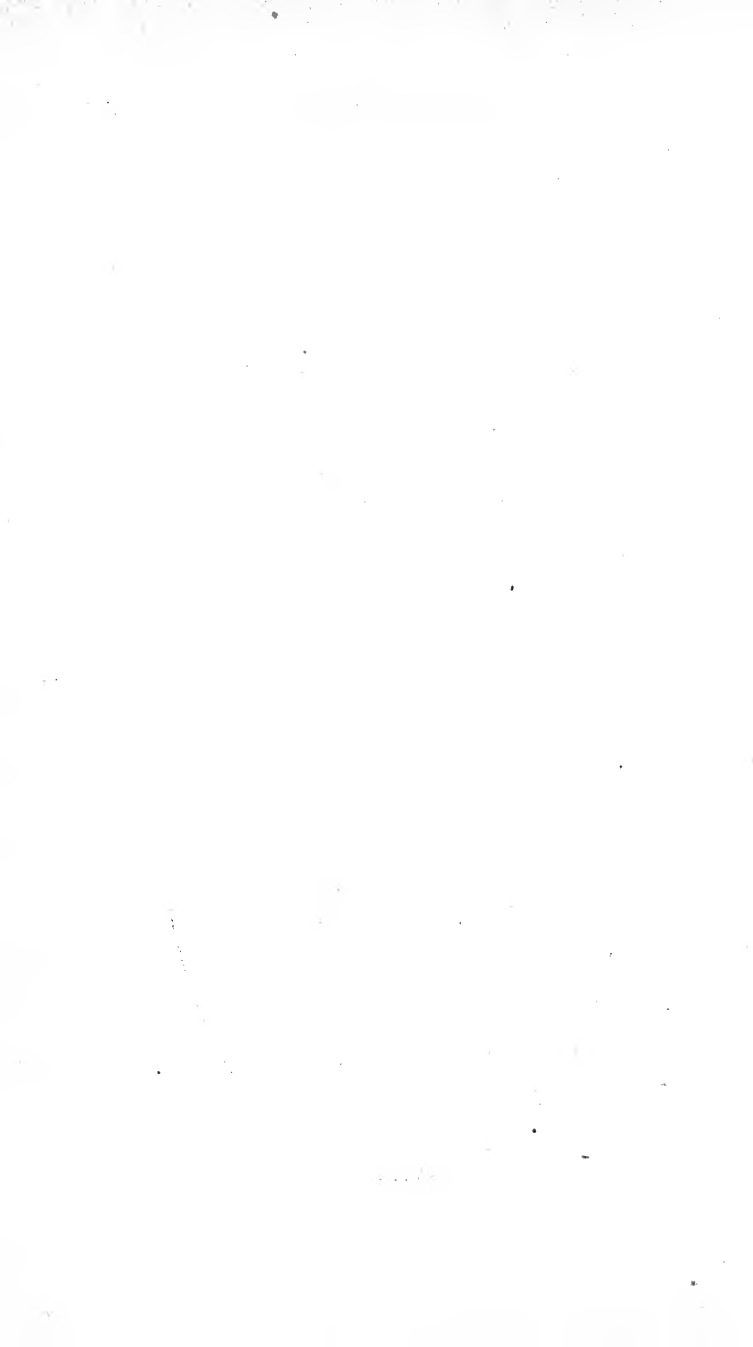
In 1859, a discussion arose among the stockholders touching the mode of selling their products. An attempt was made to make the selling agents personally interested in augmenting their sales, and enhancing the income from the company's

* Francis' Lowell Hydraulic Experiments.



LOWELL CO. MILLS.

J. F. NEDE.



stock.* This change has been successfully made by the Middlesex, but has not yet been adopted by the Lowell.

The Lowell have one carpet mill, one worsted mill, and one cotton mill. The number of spindles run is 12,500 on worsted and wool, and 2,816 on cotton. They employ 1,000 females and 450 males, and consume 4,000 pounds of cotton, and 63,000 of clean wool, per week. Their productive power is 35,000 yards of Carpets, 13,000 of Sheetings, and 4,500 of Stuffed Goods, per week. They have 432 looms, of which 258 weave Carpets, 124 Cottons, and 50 Stuffed Goods.

In 1830, Samuel Lawrence, William W. Stone, and others were incorporated as the Middlesex Company, with a capital of \$500,000,—afterward increased to \$1,000,000, but subsequently reduced to \$750,000,—and engaged in the manufacture of broadcloths, cassimeres, etc. James Cook was the Agent of this Company's mills for fifteen years. He was succeeded, in 1845, by Nelson Palmer,—in 1846, by Samuel Lawrence,—and in 1848, by Oliver H. Perry, who retained the Agency for three years. In 1851, William T. Mann became Agent, but was succeeded, in 1852, by Joshua Humphrey, who remained in charge six years. In January, 1858, James Cook was recalled. Nine months later, Oliver H. Perry was recalled.

The mismanagement of the Middlesex Company's affairs during many years was astonishing. The entire capital of the Company was lost through the mistakes and irregularities of Samuel Lawrence, William W. Stone and their associates. In 1858, the Company was reorganized, with new managers and a new subscription of stock. Five hundred shares, of the par value of one hundred dollars each, formed the capital with which the Middlesex Company took their "new departure" in

* Report of Dr. Ayer, Peter Lawson and H. J. Adams, the Committee of the Proprietors, 1859.

the voyage of life.* This capital has since been increased to \$750,000.

Until now, all our manufacturing companies had sold their products through commission-houses in Boston and New York, whose compensation was determined by the gross amount of sales—not by the amount of profits. The wisdom of this policy had been often questioned by sagacious stockholders, without, however, leading to any change. The Middlesex Company now adopted a different mode of selling their products, making their sales through their Treasurer, whose compensation depended mainly upon the profits realized by the Company. By this arrangement, the business of selling was kept directly under the Company's control, and the interests of the selling agent made identical with those of the Company. Since their reorganization, they have been remarkably successful,—their per centage of profits exceeding those of any other company in Lowell.

The Middlesex have three mills and dye-houses, with fifty sets of cards, consuming 25,000 pounds of wool per week. They run 16,400 spindles, 240 broad and 22 narrow looms. They employ 452 males and 320 females, producing Broad-cloths, Doeskins, Cassimeres and Shawls.

The Suffolk Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1831, with \$600,000 capital. Robert Means was their Agent until 1842, when John Wright succeeded him. They have two mills.

An ill-advised experiment in the manufacture of cassimeres was made by the Suffolk, during the War, but it aborted, leaving them depleted of their capital. When in full operation, they run 21,432 spindles, and 815 looms,—employ 410 females and 205 males,—consume 30,000 pounds of cotton per week,

* Dr. Ayer and Gen. Butler bought largely of this stock, and their investments yielded them splendid returns. Those who think Gen. Butler's fortune was derived solely from the plunder of Louisiana and Virginia, should look into the Company's books, and learn their mistake.

—and make 125,000 yards, per week, of Corset Jeans, Sheetings, and Shirtings, Nos. 14 to 22.

The Proprietors of the Tremont Mills were incorporated in 1831. Their capital is \$600,000, and they have two mills. Their Agents have been, from 1831 to 1834, Israel Whitney; from 1834 to 1837, John Aiken; from 1837 to 1859, Charles L. Tilden; and since 1859, Charles F. Battles.

The experiment in cassimeres which was made by the Suffolk, was repeated by the Tremont, both having the same Treasurer—Henry V. Ward. The same disasters followed, and here too cassimeres were discarded. The productive capacity of the Tremont is about equal to that of the Suffolk,—viz: 20,960 spindles, and 764 looms, run by 500 females and 120 males. The weekly consumption of cotton, when in full operation, is 37,000 pounds, and the weekly return of cloth 135,000 yards of Sheetings and Shirtings, Nos. 14 to 20, and Flannels.

The Lawrence Manufacturing Company were incorporated in 1831. Their capital is \$1,500,000; and they have five mills and dye-houses. William Austin was their Agent till 1837, when John Aiken was transferred from the Tremont Mills. In 1849, Mr. Aiken was succeeded by William S. Southworth, who remained till 1865, when William F. Salmon succeeded him.

The Lawrence had the same Treasurer during the War as the Suffolk and Tremont; but instead of experimenting in cassimeres, the Lawrence engaged in hosiery, incurring, directly and indirectly, a loss of half a million dollars. The Lawrence have 60,432 spindles, 1,564 looms, and 163 knitting machines, requiring the labor of 1,350 females and 350 males. Their weekly consumption of cotton, when all their machinery is running, is 110,000 pounds, and 2,000 of wool. Their fabrics are Shirtings, Sheetings, Printing Cloth, Cotton and Merino Hosiery.

In 1831, the Suffolk and Western Canals were cut, to supply the Suffolk, Tremont and Lawrence with water-power.

The Lowell Bleachery was incorporated in 1832, with a capital of \$50,000, since increased to \$300,000. Jonathan Derby was in charge the first year. From 1833 to 1835, Joseph Hoyt was in charge. Then succeeded Charles T. Appleton, who retained the Agency till 1846, when Charles A. Babcock succeeded him. The present Agent, Frank P. Appleton, succeeded Mr. Babcock, in 1853.

The Bleachery establishment consists of four mills and dye-houses, employing 360 males and 40 females. They dye 15,000,000 yards, and bleach 8,000,000 yards, of cloth per annum.

The Boott Cotton Mills were incorporated in 1835, with a capital of \$1,200,000, and commenced operations in 1836. Benjamin F. French had charge of these mills till 1845, when Linus Child succeeded him. In 1862, William A. Burke was transferred from the Machine Shop to succeed Mr. Child. When Mr. Burke came, the stock of the Boott had fallen forty per cent. below par, and was paying no dividends. Since then an extensive policy of reconstruction has been pursued; the stock has risen to par, and has paid good dividends.

The Boott have five mills, with 71,324 spindles and 1,878 looms, employing 1,020 females and 290 males. Their weekly consumption of cotton is 100,000 pounds, and their weekly return of cloth 350,000 yards of No. 14 Drillings, Sheetings, Shirtings and Printing Cloth, No. 30 to No. 40.

In 1832, W. B. Park, of Boston, purchased the flannel mill near Wamesit Falls, in Belvidere, of John Nesmith, who, as we have previously seen, had purchased these premises of Harrison G. Howe. Mr. Park divided most of the lands adjoining into convenient lots and sold them at an enhanced price to a number of individual purchasers. Without observing too rigid an adherence to the order of chronology, we will here give the remaining history of these mills. In 1834, Eliphalet Barber, Walter Farnsworth, and George Hill, of Boston, purchased these mills of Mr. Park, and carried on the business until 1851, as the Belvidere Flannel Manufacturing Company. They also

extended their business by the purchase of the stone mill, which had before been owned by the Whitney Mills. In 1851, Charles Stott and Walter Farnsworth bought out the company's interest, and carried on these mills on their own account; but their business was soon impeded by fire. The stone mill was burned in 1851, and the old flannel mill in the year following. In 1853, under the old charter granted to W. B. Park in 1834, the Belvidere Woollen Manufacturing Company was reorganized,—Messrs. Stott and Farnsworth conveying one-third of their interest to the new company. The large brick mill, at Wamesit Falls, was built the same year. Another large mill at Whipple's Mills was built in 1862. The capital of this company—originally only \$50,000—is now \$200,000. Charles Stott has been Agent since 1835.

It was in 1836 that Perez O. Richmond, who had for two years previously been engaged in manufacturing batting, near Wamesit Falls, established himself at Massic Falls, where he experienced distinguished success in that business. When he began manufacturing operations in Lowell in 1834, he borrowed six hundred dollars from a friend, with which he bought and started a few carding machines. When he died in 1854, he left an estate worth over one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, above all his liabilities.

The Massachusetts Cotton Mills—the youngest of the great corporations now existing in Lowell—were incorporated in 1839, with a capital of \$1,200,000, which was afterward increased by the absorption of the Prescott Company to \$1,800,000. The Agents of this Company have been, from 1839 to 1849, Homer Bartlett; from 1849 to 1856, Joseph White; and since 1856, Frank F. Battles. The Superintendents of the Prescott Mills, (a part of the same Company's establishment,) have been, from 1845 to 1849, Homer Bartlett; from 1849 to 1856, Frank F. Battles; and since 1856, William Brown.

The Massachusetts have six mills, with 67,872 spindles and 1,887 looms, employing 1,300 females and 400 males. They consume 180,000 pounds of cotton, and make 540,000 yards of cloth, per week; their fabrics being Sheetings, Shirtings and Drillings, No. 12 to No. 22.

In 1839, John Nesmith and others were incorporated as the Whitney Mills, and for several years they manufactured blankets in the stone mill near Wamesit Falls. But the business proved a failure, and they sold their machinery to Joseph W. Mansur and John D. Sturtevant. The blanket manufacture finally found a grave in the Tariff of 1846. That Tariff, the result of the financial charlatanry of Robert J. Walker, President Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, raised the duty on all imported wools to thirty per cent., while it reduced the duty on imported flannels and blankets to twenty-five and twenty per cent.

It was in 1839 that Charles P. Talbot & Co. commenced the business of manufacturing dye-stuffs and chemicals in Lowell and Billerica. This business, small in its beginning, has gradually swelled to the amount of \$500,000 per annum. A flannel mill has also been started by the Messrs. Talbot, at Billerica, with eight sets of cards.

In 1845,—the year of the second reorganization of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals,—the Lowell Machine Shop was incorporated, with a capital of \$600,000. William A. Burke, who had previously been Agent of the Manchester (N. H.) Machine Shop, was the first Agent, and was succeeded in 1862 by Mertoun C. Bryant. Mr. Bryant dying soon afterward, Andrew Moody succeeded him.

The War, which brought death and ruin to so many others, was improved by this company to the utmost advantage; and since the War, they have realized a hundred thousand dollars in a single year.

The establishment of this company consists of four shops, a smithy and foundry, employing 800 men;—3,000 tons of cast

iron, 400 tons of wrought iron and 35 tons of steel are consumed annually, in the manufacture of Cotton and Paper Machinery, Locomotives, Water-Wheels, Machinists' Tools, and Mill-work.

A machine for bending ship timber is now in process of construction here, the weight of which will exceed 200 tons.

While the Machine Shop was getting under way as an independent corporation, the Prescott Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1844, with a capital of \$800,000, was consolidated with the Massachusetts; the change being made with a view to economy.

Having now traced in outline the origin and progress of all the great corporations of Lowell, we may here insert a statistical summary of the most salient facts touching their productive capacity.

Capital stock of the corporations	\$13,650,000
Number of mills.....	47, and dye-houses, etc.
Number of spindles.....	429,474
Number of looms	12,117
Female operatives.....	8,890
Male operatives.....	4,672
Yards of cotton cloth produced per week.....	2,248,000
Pounds of cotton consumed per week.....	646,000
Yards dyed and printed per annum.....	45,002,000
Tons anthracite coal consumed per annum.....	35,100
Bushels charcoal consumed per annum.....	20,000
Gallons oil consumed per annum.....	97,650
Pounds starch consumed per annum.....	2,190,000
Water-power.....	nearly 10,000 horse-powers.
Steam-power	32 engines—4,375 horse-powers.
Wages of females, clear of board, per week.....	\$3.50 to \$3.75
Wages of males, clear of board, per day.....	\$1.00 to \$2.00
Medium produce of a loom, No. 14 yarn, yards per day	45
Medium produce of a loom, No. 30 yarn, yards per day	30
Average per spindle per day	14

In 1829, one mill was burned down, and, in 1853, another. Both these mills belonged to the Merrimack Company; and although fires have been frequent, no other mills of the great corporations have been lost by that devouring element. This

comparative exemption from the ravages of fire has been secured by the most efficient system of watching, which has been practiced here from the first. The corporations also have an elaborate system of "sprinklers," which enables them, in an instant, to wet down the whole or any part of a room, or of all their rooms, so that fires are arrested at once. This admirable machinery of sprinklers, however, was not introduced until after the establishment of the reservoir on Lynde's Hill, in 1850. A system of mutual insurance against fire was also adopted by the corporations about the same time; but so perfect are their facilities for preventing and suppressing fires, the cost of their insurance has been less than a tenth of one per cent. on the value of the property insured.

In connection with those corporations that stopped their mills more or less during the War, the question may be asked,—How would the great men who founded the factory system of Lowell regard this ruthless dismissal of hundreds and thousands of operatives, dependent on their day's wages for their day's bread? The founders of Lowell were far in advance of their times. How mindful they were of the well-being of their operatives! With what thoughtful care did they establish, at their own cost, their admirable system of boarding-houses, with the most efficient moral police, and with every provision for religious worship! To them the condition of their operatives was a matter of the highest interest.* Not so to their successors. The impartial historian cannot ignore the fact, painful as it is, that nine of the great corporations of Lowell, under a mistaken belief that they could not run their mills to a profit during the War, unanimously, in cold blood, dismissed ten thousand operatives, penniless, into the streets!

This crime, this worse than crime, this *blunder*, entailed its own punishment,—as all crimes do by the immutable law of God. When these companies resumed operations, their former skilled operatives were dispersed, and could no more be recalled

* Appleton's Origin of Lowell, p. 15.

than the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Their places were poorly filled by the less skilled operatives whom the companies now had to employ. So serious was this blunder, that the smallest of the companies would have done wisely, had they sacrificed a hundred thousand dollars, rather than thus lose their accustomed help.

During the last forty years, a great variety of mechanical talent has been developed by the corporations of Lowell. But strange to say, no method has been devised to retain in the service of the companies the talent thus developed, by opening to its possessors a wider field of action. Accordingly, when an overseer, or employé of any grade, has so mastered his business as to be fitted to fill the higher positions,—so often filled by men wholly ignorant of manufacturing processes,—his almost only hope of advancement lies in quitting the companies' employ.

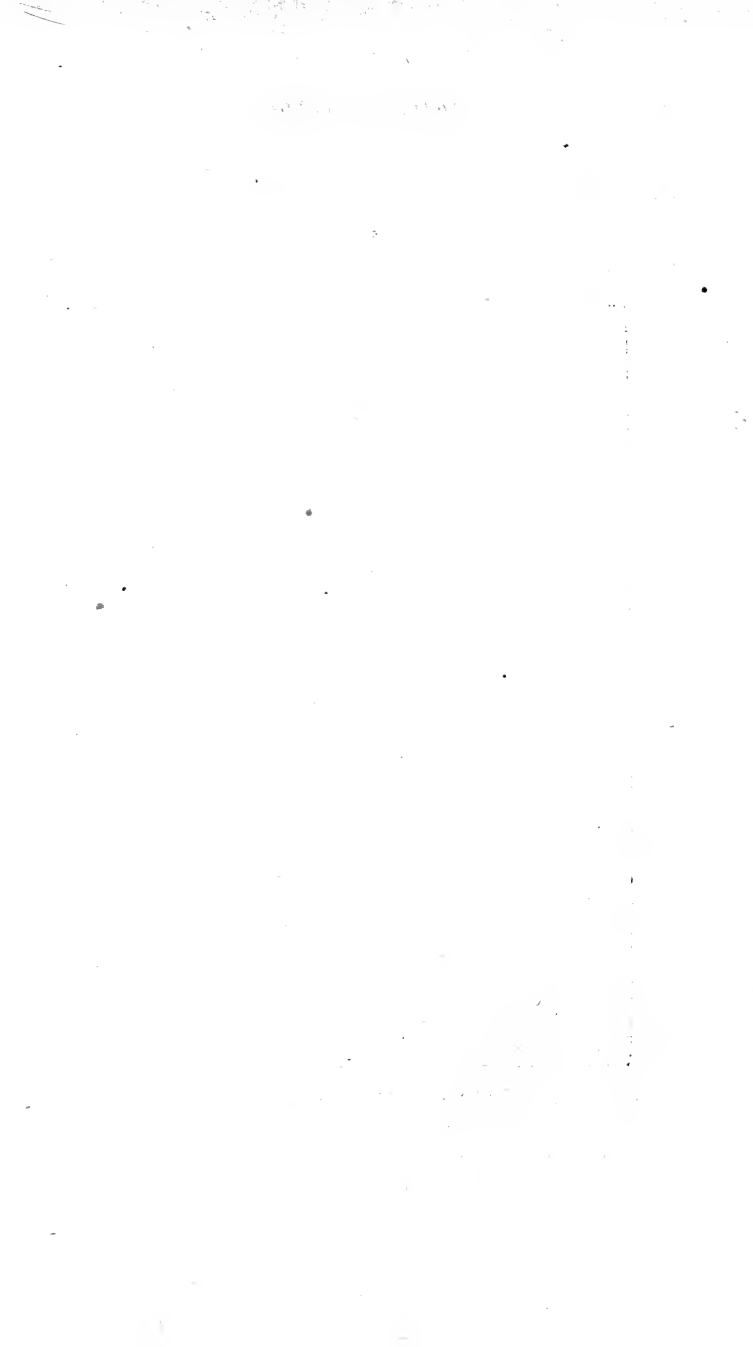
Among the men heretofore employed in the mills, who found no adequate sphere on the corporations, and who have risen to higher theatres of action outside of the Lowell mills, the first names that occur are Phineas Adams, Sylvanus Adams, W. L. Ainsworth, D. M. Ayer, Jefferson Bancroft, Joseph Battles, E. B. Bigelow, Ezekiel Blake, Cornelius Blanchard, Francis A. Calvert, Josiah G. Coburn, John L. Cheney, Joshua Converse, D. D. Crombie, A. G. Cumnock, E. S. Davis, Orlando Davis, George Draper, Oliver Ellis, Franklin Forbes, William Hunter, Daniel Hussey, L. W. Jaquith, G. H. Jones, Peter Lawson, Pliny Lawton, George Lund, Foster Nowell, George K. Paul, Hannibal Powers, T. L. Randlett, E. A. Straw, Royal Southwick, Charles P. Talbot, Thomas Talbot, Rufus Whittier, Claudius Wilson, Hubbard Willson, Walter Wright, S. J. Wetherell, Lothrop Wetherell, and John Yeaton; and many others might readily be recalled.

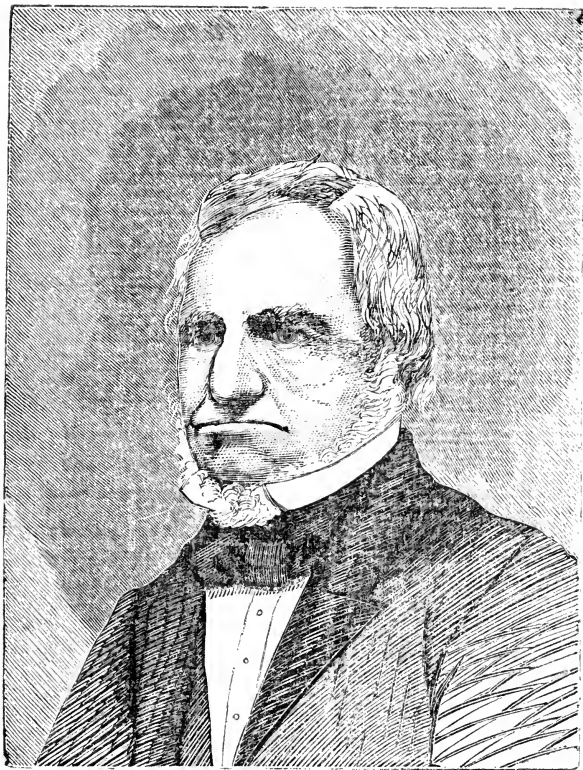
Synchronously with the building of the factories and boarding-houses of the corporations, a large number of small private establishments were started in various parts of Lowell, by machinists, blacksmiths, house-builders, carpenters, dyers, carriage

and harness makers, artificers of tools, and all sorts of workers in wood and in iron,—in short, by all classes of mechanics and artisans who could in any way contribute to the building and beautifying of an inland town. Many of these congregated near Wamesit Falls, in Belvidere. There too were subsequently started the manufacturing establishments of James O. Patterson, John D. Sturtevant, Aaron Cowley, Roger Lang, James Siner, Samuel C. Shapleigh, Moses A. Johnson, and others. Most of these establishments have long since disappeared from Belvidere—the manufacturers finding a more desirable theatre at Whipple's Mills, and the miscellaneous classes of mechanics establishing themselves at Mechanics' Mills in the westerly part of Lowell. This region of Mechanics' Mills,—built up largely by William Livingston and Sidney Spaulding,—has been the focus of most of the lumber business done in Lowell since 1846. No water-power is used there; but planing mills, saw-mills, and other works are run by steam.

It was long the policy of the corporations to discourage any manufacturing enterprise that was not incorporated. This policy was based partly on a love of methodicity and an unreasoning attachment to incorporated forms of industry, and partly on the selfish desire to have the whole body of the people of Lowell subject to their sway. But notwithstanding this discouragement, many independent hives of manufacturing industry have been started from time to time; and some of them have realised remarkable success.

In 1846, Oliver M. Whipple gathered, in the southerly part of Lowell, that group of industrial establishments ever since called Whipple's Mills, which are supplied by the water-power of Concord River, estimated at five hundred horse-powers. In his long and active career, Mr. Whipple has rendered many valuable services to the public. Some of these have already been forgotten, and the memory of most of the rest will probably perish with the generation now in being. But whatever else may be forgotten, this will not be forgotten,—that when





OLIVER M. WHIPPLE.

all the water-power of the Merrimack had been monopolized by great corporations, he laid hold on the water-power of the Concord, and held it, with a firm hand, for the use, chiefly, of independent manufacturers. For nearly twenty years, he continued to let land, buildings and water-power, on the most liberal terms, to every man of merit that would embark in any manufacturing adventure. As the region of Whipple's Mills becomes more thickly peopled, the magnitude of the service thus rendered by Mr. Whipple will more and more appear; and Lowell, when she calls the roll of her benefactors, can never omit his name.

Among the first establishments at Whipple's Mills were Smith & Meadowcroft's bolt factory, Thomas Barr's print shop, Aaron Cowley's carpet factory, Sylvester Crosby's bobbin shop, and C. H. Crowther's dye house. Afterward came Roger Lang, James Siner, and George Naylor, carpet manufacturers; Carroll & Thompson, dyers; Charles R. Littler, calico printer; the Lowell Wire Fence Company; John Cowley, woollen manufacturer; John Sugden, Richard Rhodes, and James Dugdale, worsted spinners, and a multitude more.

During the late War, portions of the water-power of the Concord, at Whipple's Mills, were purchased and applied by the Belvidere Woollen Manufacturing Company, Luther W. Faulkner & Son, Charles A. Stott, and others. The *residuum* of this water-power passed, for a time, into the hands of Ephraim B. Patch, who sold it, in 1865, to the Wamesit Power Company, which was incorporated the same year, with a capital of \$150,000. By this company, water-power is still leased to private manufacturers, as in former years by Mr. Whipple.

During the two lustrums between 1845 and 1855, the number of spindles run by the great corporations of Lowell, was exactly doubled. Only 200,000 spindles were in operation in 1845. The spaces between the mills were then built up, and other extensions made, and, in 1855, the number of spindles running was 400,000, with 12,000 looms.

In 1860, Moses A. Johnson and others established a mill at Wamesit Falls, for the manufacture of cattle's hair into various forms of felted goods. The use for which this fabric was originally designed, was the sheathing of the copper of ships; but it has since been applied extensively to a great variety of uses—such as underlaying carpets, roofing, packing, etc. In 1866, this business was removed to Pawtucket Falls. In 1867, the Lowell Felting Mills were incorporated, with a capital of \$100,000, and with Moses A. Johnson as Agent.

Outside of the great corporations, there is no establishment in Lowell, involving near so much capital, as the Laboratory of Dr. James C. Ayer & Co., established in 1843, and now employing one hundred males and fifty females. The advertising disbursements of this firm exceed \$140,000 annually. Five and a half million copies of Ayer's Almanac, printed by steam at their establishment, are annually distributed, *gratis*, in English, French, Dutch, German, Norwegian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese. About 325,000 pounds of drugs, of the value of \$850,000,—220,000 gallons of spirit, of the value of \$550,000, and 460,000 pounds of sugar, costing about \$98,000,—are annually expended here. About \$1,500,000 bottles, 185,000 pill boxes, 425,000 square feet of packing boxes, and 112,000 square feet of card board, are also used. The paper and printing ink consumed annually amount in value to \$75,000. The products of this mammoth laboratory are sent to every part of the globe, at an expense of \$48,000 a year for freight, and \$2,800 for postage,—150 letters on an average being sent out every day.

The principal manufacturing and mechanical establishments in Lowell, not already mentioned, are as follows;

American Bolt Company, Bolts.

Thomas Atherton & Co., Machinists.

Sager Ashworth, Files.

Milton Aldrich, Hand Screws.

A. H. & J. H. Abbott, Carriages.

J. W. Bennett & Co., Metallic Roofing.
Artemas L. Brooks, Saw Mill and Planing Mill.
D. C. Brown, Reeds, Loom Harnesses, etc.
S. L. Buckman, Harnesses.
James A. Brabrook, Harnesses.
T. F. Burgess & Co., Iron Machinery.
H. R. Barker, Gas and Steam Pipes, etc.
Ephraim Brown, Money Drawers, etc.
Blodgett, Reed & Pease, Stone Cutters, etc.
S. R. Brackett, Worsted Yarns.
George L. Cady, Belt Hooks, etc.
George Crosby, Extension Tables, etc.
Coburn, Wing & Co., Shuttles.
John H. Coburn, Shuttles.
Coburn & Park, Stone Quarries.
Cutter & Walker, Shoulder Braces.
Samuel Convers, Carriages.
Cole & Nichols, Foundry.
Elbridge G. Cook, Tannery.
Carter & Roland, Wool Washers.
Charles H. Crowther, Dyeing.
Alfred H. Chase, Fancy Cloths.
Weare Clifford, Dyeing.
Asahel Davis, Dovetailing Machines, etc.
Luke C. Dodge, Babbeting Metal, etc.
Davis & Melindy, Planing Mill.
Alfred Drake, Card Combs.
James Dugdale, Woollen Yarns.
Dobbins & Crawford, Steam Boilers.
Eagle Braid Mills, Braid.
Willis G. Eaton, Currier,
N. B. Favor & Son, Doors, Sashes and Blinds.
William Fiske, Coverlets.
L. W. Faulkner & Son, Woollens.
George W. Field, Machinist.
Fuller & Read, Wood Turners.
Josiah Gates & Sons, Hose, Belts, etc.
Joseph Green, Mats and Rugs.
Hart & Colson, Furniture.
Hill Manufacturing Company, Suspenders.
Howe & Goodhue, Card Clothing.
John Holt, Press-dyed Flannels.

Andrew J. Hiscox & Co., Files.
Howes & Burnham, Lumber.
George W. Harris, Loom Harnesses, etc.
Henry A. Hildreth, Wire Worker.
B. S. Hale & Son, Insulated Wire.
H. B. & G. F. Hill, Carriages.
Eliphalet Hills, Wood Turner.
Hubbard & Blake, Patent Leather.
J. S. Jaques & Co., Shuttles.
Joel Jenkins, Carriages.
Keyes and Sugden, Worsted Yarns,
Richard Kitson, Cotton Machinery.
D. S. Kimball, Furniture.
J. A. Knowles, Jr., Scales.
Wm. Kelley, Doors, Sashes and Blinds.
Benjamin Lawrence, Machinist.
Lowell Arms Company, Fire Arms.
Lowell Card Company, Card Clothing.
Daniel Lovejoy, Machine Knives.
David Lane, Woollen Machinery.
Livingston, Carter & Co., Flannels, etc.
William E. Livingston, Grist Mill, etc.
John McDonald, Carpets.
John Mather, Carpets.
William & Luke McFarlin, Ice.
J. V. Meigs, Patent Guns.
Norcross & Saunders, Lumber.
George Naylor, Carpets.
Parsons & Gibby, Copperstamps, etc.
F. S. Perkins, Iron Machinery.
Parker & Cheney, Bobbins.
M. C. Pratt, Doors, Sashes and Blinds.
Isaac Place, Doors, Sashes and Blinds.
J. G. Peabody, Doors, Sashes and Blinds.
John Pettengill, Cisterns, etc.
J. M. Peabody, Set Screws.
John N. Pierce, Machinist.
George Ripley & Co., Batting.
Robinson & Nourbourn, Machinists.
Runals, Clough & Co., Granite Workers.
Charles B. Richmond, Paper.
Joseph Robinson & Co., Acids and Charcoal.

Amos Sanborn & Co., Silver Ware.
 Samuel Smith, Set Screws.
 Charles A. Stott, Flannels.
 A. C. Sawyer, Harnesses, etc.
 Hamilton Sawyer, Machinist.
 Solon Stevens, Reeds, Loom Harnesses, etc.
 Styles, Rogers & Co., Grist Mill.
 B. F. & J. Stevens, Machinists.
 Taylor Chemical Company, Chemicals.
 Upton & Blake, Shoulder Braces.
 U. S. Bunting Co., Bunting. D. W. C. Farrington, Agent.
 William Walker & Co., Woollens.
 Woods, Sherwood & Co., Wireworkers.
 H. & A. Whitney, Lumber.
 S. H. Wright, Machinist.
 Edward F. Watson, Bobbins.
 Phineas Whiting & Co., Belts.
 Charles H. Western, Patterns, etc.
 H. H. Wilder & Co., Brass Foundry.
 S. N. Wood, Grist Mill.
 White & Plaisted, Saw Mill.
 White & Chase, Flocks.

There are also various manufacturing establishments in the circumjacent towns, which can hardly be ignored in connection with the manufacturing history of Lowell. Among these are the following :

BILLERICA.

C. P. Talbot & Co., Flannels, Dye Stuffs and Chemicals.
 J. R. Faulkner & Co., Flannels.
 Hill & Proctor, Machinery.
 Robert Prince & Co., Soap.
 Thomas Patten, Furniture.

CHELMSFORD.

Eagle Mills, Woollens. Isaac Farrington, Treasurer.
 Christopher Roby & Co., Swords, Edge Tools, etc.
 Baldwin Company, Worsted. Peter Anderson, Agent.
 Silver & Gay, Woollen Machinery, Tools, etc.
 Chelmsford Foundry. W. H. B. Wightman, Treasurer.
 George T. Sheldon, Hosiery.

Merrimack Hosiery Company. G. T. Sheldon, Treasurer.
Warren C. Hamblet, Grist Mill.

DRACUT.

Merrimack Mills, Woollens. Edward Barrows, Agent.
George Ripley & Co., Paper.

TEWKSBURY.

Fosters & Co., Furniture.
J. F. Huntington, Peat.

TYNGSBOROUGH.

Nathaniel Brinley, Lumber and Boxes.

WESTFORD.

Abbot Worsted Co., Worsteds. J. W. Abbot, Treasurer.
Charles G. Sargent, Machinery.

The water-power of the Merrimack has been increased by the superaddition of reservoirs near its sources, which cover a hundred and fifteen square miles. It now amounts to the enormous volume of four thousand cubic feet per second for all the hours during which the mills are run, or nearly ten thousand horse-powers; and the whole of this has been applied. The Merrimack alone use the whole fall of thirty-three feet. To the other companies, the water is delivered from two levels. The Hamilton, Appleton, Lowell, Suffolk, Tremont and Machine Shop draw from the upper level, under a fall of somewhat more than thirteen feet; while the Middlesex, Lawrence, Boott and Massachusetts draw from the lower level, under a fall of something more than seventeen feet.

Within less than a mile below the settled portion of the city, are Hunt's Falls, where the Merrimack River, reinforced by the Concord, makes another descent of ten feet. No part of this water-power has yet been applied to manufacturing purposes; though the utilization of the whole of it is only a question of time. Here are the means to increase the productive power of Lowell by more than thirty per cent. At pres-

ent, however, the cost of the dam, canal, etc., which would be required in applying this power, would probably exceed the value of the power that would be obtained.

Besides Hunt's Falls, the superaddition of steam-power to the water-power, and the invention of contrivances to diminish the friction of the machinery and enable it to be run with less power, will lead to considerable further increase of our productivity as a manufacturing city. Moreover, the experiments of Bonelli foreshadow many probable future improvements in manufactures, from the application of electricity to various process, especially to the weaving. We are very far yet from the point of culmination. Before the present century expires, Lowell is destined to contain seventy-five thousand inhabitants. Nor will her progress end even there. When the men of our times are all gathered to their fathers, she bids fair to renew her youth, and to march, with firm step, toward the goal of that ideal perfection, which is forever approached, but never attained.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HISTORY OF LOWELL. 1820—1835.

East Chelmsford in 1820—*The Journal*—Local Militia—Orators of Independence—Day—James Dugdale—Central Bridge—Mechanics' Association—Lowell a Town—Postmasters—William Livingston—Odd Fellows—Ephraim K. Avery—Sarah Maria Cornell—Boston and Lowell Railroad—Judge Livermore—Police Court—*The Advertiser*—Francis A. Calvert—Gen. Jackson—Henry Clay—Col. Crockett—George Thompson—Michael Chevalier—Steamboat on the Merrimack—Mechanics' Hall *The Courier*—Local Scenery.

In 1820, the village of East Chelmsford, together with Belvidere and Centralville, contained about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. Whipple's Powder Mills were then in operation, and Howe's Flannel Mill. Several saw-mills and grist-mills also contributed to the life of the place. Hurd's Mill, now at Whipple's Mills, then stood in the present Middlesex Com-

pany's yard. Ira Frye's Tavern stood where the American House now stands, and furnished "provender for man and beast." At Massic Falls stood a blacksmith's shop; and there were a few other such establishments as country villages usually afford. Scattered about, were a few substantial dwelling-houses,—of which the Livermore House in Belvidere was the most conspicuous—and about a dozen farm-houses, cottages, etc.

The operations of the Merrimack Company attracted a numerous and daily increasing population; and the gables of a hundred new houses shortly pierced the sky. In 1822, a regular line of stages was established between East Chelmsford and Boston. Previous to this, business men, like Mr. Whipple and Mr. Hurd, had often paid five dollars for the conveyance of a single letter from Boston.

In 1824, a weekly paper called the *Chelmsford Courier*, was established in Middlesex Village, and became, at once, the organ of the rising community. It was published by William Baldwin, and edited by Bernard Whitman. In a short time, it passed into the hands of E. W. Reinhart, who changed its name first to *Chelmsford Phoenix*, and afterward to *Merrimack Journal*. He also removed it to what is now Lowell. In November, 1825, John S. C. Knowlton purchased the paper of Mr. Reinhart, and after the incorporation of the town, changed its name to the *Lowell Journal*.

On July 4th, 1825, was organized the Mechanic Phalanx, the first Company of Militia in Lowell. Four other companies of Militia were afterward organized here: the City Guards, in 1841; the Watson Light Guard, in 1851; the Lawrence Cadets, in 1855. The Phalanx and the Guards still live; but the two last companies passed away during the War, giving place to the Putnam Guards and the Sargeant Light Guards.

In 1825, the anniversary of American Independence was celebrated here with appropriate ceremonies. The principal events of the day were an oration by the Rev. Bernard Whit-

man, of Chelmsford, the first editor of the paper now called the *Lowell Journal*, and a public dinner at the Stone House near Pawtucket Falls, then just erected by Captain Phineas Fletcher, and now the elegant private residence of Dr. James C. Ayer. The successors of Mr. Whitman in the line of Fourth-of-July oratory have been as follows:—In 1826, Samuel B. Walcott; in 1828, Elisha Bartlett; in 1829, Dr. Israel Hildreth; in 1830, Edward Everett; in 1831, John P. Robinson; in 1832, Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood; in 1834, Thomas Hopkinson; in 1835, Rev. E. W. Freeman and others; in 1836, Rev. Dr. Blanchard; in 1841, Rev. Thomas F. Norris and John C. Park; in 1847, Rev. John Moore; in 1848, Dr. Bartlett, again; in 1851, Rev. Joseph H. Towne; in 1852, Rev. Matthew Hale Smith; in 1853, Jonathan Kimball; in 1855, Augustus Woodbury; in 1860, Dr. Charles A. Phelps; in 1861, George S. Boutwell and others; in 1865, Alexander H. Bullock; in 1867, Judge Thomas Russell, and others.

Another event occurred about 1825, of more importance than a Fourth-of-July oration—viz., the arrival of James Dugdale, an ingenious mechanic from Lancashire, who became overseer of a spinning-room on the Merrimack, where he introduced the English “dead spindle,” and revolutionized the mode of spinning coarse yarns.

In 1825, the Central Bridge Corporation was incorporated. The only mode of crossing Merrimack River at this point until now, had been by what was called “Bradley’s Ferry.” This ferry was purchased by the Central Bridge Company, for one thousand dollars. The bridge was so far completed during this and the following season that tolls for foot-passers and carriages were received early in December, 1826. The tolls for foot-passers were abolished in 1843. The bridge itself was rebuilt in 1844; and covered in 1849. The original cost of the bridge was twenty-one thousand dollars; the cost of rebuilding was nine thousand; and the cost of covering four thousand. In 1855, the bridge was laid out by the City Coun-

cil as a public highway,—a foolish act, which involved the city in most tedious and expensive litigation,* and for which the proprietors of the bridge recovered over \$26,000, as damages, costs, etc. The present bridge was built in 1862 at a cost of nearly \$34,000,—an outlay of money scarcely less reckless than the seizure of the old bridge.

In 1825, the Middlesex Mechanics' Association was incorporated to minister, by a library of books, now nearly 10,000 volumes, by public lectures, by occasional fairs, and various other means, to the intellectual needs of the people. This was only two years subsequent to the founding of the famous Mechanics' Institute in London—the first of a most useful class of popular institutions, originating in the genius of Dr. Birkbeck, and helped into existence by Lord Brougham. Thus Lowell followed the lead of London with a more rapid step than many of the great English towns.

One hundred years had now elapsed since the Wamesit Indian territory was annexed to the town of Chelmsford. The time had come for a separation; and the inhabitants of East Chelmsford petitioned to be incorporated as a town, and that that town be called Merrimack. Mr. Boott suggested the name of Derby, probably on account of his family associations with that place, which was also in the immediate vicinity of one of the earliest English seats of the Cotton Manufacture. The influence of Mr. Appleton finally caused the name of Lowell to be adopted, out of respect to his associate in the Waltham Company, Francis Cabot Lowell.†

At the inauguration of the Lowell Institute at Boston, December 31st, 1839, Edward Everett delivered a biographical discourse on John Lowell, its founder, and paid a well-merited tribute to that founder's father, from whom was named our City of Spindles. "Pyramids and mausoleums," says the

* See 4 Gray's Reports, p. 474.

† The ancient form of this name was Loule, afterward Lowle. It, perhaps, had the same origin as Lovell.

orator, "may crumble to the earth, and brass and marble mingle with the dust they cover; but the pure and well-deserved renown, which is thus incorporated with the busy life of an intelligent people, will be remembered, till the long lapse of ages and the vicissitudes of fortune shall reduce all of America to oblivion and decay!"

The municipal independence of Lowell began on the first day of March, 1826. The population of the new-born town was about two thousand.

The first post-master was Jonathan C. Morrill, who had been appointed postmaster at East Chelmsford in 1823. The post-office was located at the corner of Central and William Streets. Captain William Wyman succeeded Mr. Morrill in 1829, when the post-office was removed to the site of the present City Hall. As successive administrations came into power at Washington, different post-masters, of different party affiliations, were appointed. Mr. Wyman was succeeded by Eliphalet Case, who removed the office from the City Hall to Middle Street; Mr. Case by Jacob Robbins; Mr. Robbins by S. S. Seavy; Mr. Seavy by Alfred Gilman; Mr. Gilman by T. P. Goodhue; Mr. Goodhue by F. A. Hildreth, who removed the office to its present location, and who was succeeded in 1861 by John A. Goodwin, the present incumbent.

The years 1827 and 1828 were marked by great depression in the commercial and manufacturing circles of the country. Lowell was enveloped in the common cloud. Mr. Hurd, the satinete manufacturer, became bankrupt; but the two corporations—the Merrimack and the Hamilton—kept on in the even tenor of their way, too strong to be crushed.

In spite of all this, however, Lowell still advanced, augmenting her population at the rate of one thousand souls, and her valuation-table many thousand dollars, every year. The business facilities of the place were much increased in 1828 by the establishment of the Lowell Bank, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars.

In 1828, William Kittredge brought one ton of coal to Lowell in a baggage wagon. It was the first coal ever seen here, and was considered a sufficient supply for the Lowell market for a year. When the first coal fire was started, in the law office of Samuel H. Mann, more than a hundred incredulous persons called to satisfy themselves whether the "black rocks" would actually burn.

In 1829, the Lowell Institution for Savings was incorporated. In the same year, William Livingston established himself in the coal and wood trade. For a quarter of a century, Mr. Livingston was one of the most active, most enterprising and most public-spirited men in Lowell. Much of the western portion of the city was built up by his instrumentality. His efforts to save Lowell from the oppressive monopoly of her railroad business by a single company, mark him as a man far ahead of his time. If the men of business here had sustained those efforts, as an enlightened sense of self-interest dictated, Lowell would now have two competing railroad routes to Boston; and, with cheap freight and a prompt transmission of merchandise, her progress would be vastly accelerated. In politics, Mr. Livingston was a Democrat of the old school, and his principles brought him into antagonism with all attempts to establish monopolies, and with all political and incorporated "rings." He was always active in politics as in every other sphere of human activity. In 1836 and 1837, he was a member of the State Senate. He died in Florida, whither he had gone to escape the rigors of our northern clime, of consumption, March 17th, 1855; and his place in the business and other circles of Lowell has not yet been filled.

It is from 1829 that Odd Fellowship dates its existence in Lowell, Merrimack Lodge having been instituted during that year. This Lodge was the last of this order in the State, that succumbed to the opposition which all secret societies at one time encountered in Massachusetts. But in 1836 it ceased to exist. It was re-organized in 1839, and has continued ever



WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.



since. Four other Lodges were afterward formed, two of which still live—Mechanics', instituted in 1842, and Oberlin, instituted in 1843. Two Encampments were also instituted here, one of which—Monomake, established in 1843—has survived to the present time.

In July, 1830, an acquaintance was formed between two persons in Lowell, whose names are destined to be associated forever, being cemented by the triple bond of adultery, abortion and murder. One of them was Ephraim K. Avery, Pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, now in Hurd street; the other was Sarah Maria Cornell, a member of the same church, a fair but frail factory girl, employed on the Hamilton Corporation. The reverend hypocrite made frequent calls at the Hamilton counting-room for interviews with his paramour; * and then it was—

“The golden hours on angel wings
Flew o'er him and his dearie.”

Little did either of them dream that the amorous dalliances in which they then indulged, would culminate, in a few fleeting months, in one of the most appalling tragedies in the annals of New England. Others besides Avery enjoyed the favors of Miss Cornell, who was finally expelled from his church for criminality and lying. In 1832, Avery removed to Bristol, Rhode Island. Miss Cornell followed, and took up her abode where she could communicate with him by personal interviews, as well as by letter.

On the night of the twentieth of December, 1832, loud cries and groans were heard in Tiverton, a few miles from Bristol; but the bloody tragedy then and there enacted, was not discovered until the following morning. The dead body of Miss Cornell was then found suspended by the neck in a stack yard fence, near the spot where such terrible cries had been heard

* This statement is inconsistent with the narrative of Avery, published with the report of his trial, by Richard Hildreth and B. F. Hallett; but I had it from the late Ithamar W. Beard, who was employed in the Hamilton counting-room at the time, and who, unlike Avery, had no motive to lie.

on the evening before. There was indisputable evidence that prior to the murder Miss Cornell had undergone the manipulations of an abortionist. By a remarkable coincidence, the day following that on which Miss Cornell was thus put out of the way, had been assigned by the Presiding Elder for the trial of Mr. Avery, before an ecclesiastical court, on a charge of adultery committed with Miss Cornell, in the preceding August, at a camp meeting at Thompson, in Connecticut.

Avery was soon afterward arrested at his hiding-place at Rindge, in New Hampshire, and carried to Newport, where, on the sixth of May, 1833, he was arraigned for trial. He was the first clergyman in the United States that was ever tried on an indictment for murder; and his case was one of the most remarkable in the annals of crime. His trial continued for twenty-eight consecutive days. He was defended by the celebrated Jeremiah Mason and Richard K. Randolph, and was finally acquitted. A Committee of the New England Conference reported, and the Conference unblushingly resolved, that Avery was not only innocent of the murder, but that he was also innocent of adultery with Miss Cornell. But the time had gone by when the convictions of mankind could be controlled by the decree of an ecclesiastical conclave. Avery having had the impudence to preach to his old society in Lowell, shortly after the murder, a party of gentlemen, not altogether blind to all moral distinctions, prepared to bear him from the town on a rail. But before their preparations were completed, Avery fled. His pursuers gave expression to their resentment by hanging him in effigy.

In 1830, the Town Hall was built, and the Fire Department established. Our population had then increased to six thousand four hundred and seventy-seven souls; the principal streets of the present city had been laid out; and the once rural hamlet had begun to wear a decidedly urban aspect.

It was in 1830, that Patrick T. Jackson undertook the Cyclopean work of the Boston and Lowell Railroad. The line

for a macadamized road had already been surveyed, when this road was projected; and it was a part of the original plan to have the cars drawn by horses. But just "in the nick of time," the intelligence of Mr. Stephenson's brilliant success in his experiment with locomotive steam-engines on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, reached the ever-open ears of Mr. Jackson, and convinced him that a similar road might be established here also. He corresponded with the best inventors and mechanics of England, availed himself of their valuable suggestions, and in five years the work was successfully completed.

As a matter of course, all the incorrigible fogies of the country pronounced the project of a railroad with cars propelled by steam, to be radical, wild and visionary. Many a Mrs. Grundy indulged liberally in ridicule at both Mr. Jackson and his "castle-in-the-air" railroad. The stockholders complained of the repeated and enormous assessments which he imposed upon them, without any prospect, as those timid creatures thought, of any future dividends. Probably no other man then living in Massachusetts could have sustained himself against an opposition so powerful and so various. But the iron mind of that truly great man,—true to itself as the needle ✓ to the pole,—overcame every obstacle, and pressed right onward to the goal.

How much the actual cost of this railroad exceeded all previous calculations, one fact will sufficiently indicate. In 1831, a Committee of Stockholders estimated the whole cost at four hundred and fifty thousand dollars; but out of the exuberant liberality of their generous hearts, they advised that six hundred thousand dollars be raised for that work; so that Mr. Jackson might have means "enough and to spare." But when, in 1835, the road had been completed, the actual cost was found to have been eighteen hundred thousand dollars! or three times the cost of the Middlesex Canal, and three times the cost estimated in 1831!

This has often been represented as the first railroad started on this continent. But the Boston and Quincy Railroad was the first that carried freight—using horse-power. It was built in 1827. The first passenger road was the Baltimore and Ohio, opened with horse-power for fifteen miles in 1830. Locomotives were first used in 1831 on the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, and in 1832 on the Baltimore and Ohio, and on the South Carolina Railroad. The Boston and Providence, Boston and Worcester, Boston and Lowell Railroads, were each open in 1835.

In cutting through the mica slate and gneiss rock near the Northern depot, to lay the track of this railroad, remarkable intrusions of trap rock were uncovered, severing and disturbing the general strata. Similar seams of trap rock were afterward disclosed when the cut was made through the ledge on Fletcher street. Phenomena like these are always of interest to geologists.

In 1831, the Railroad Bank was established, with a capital of six hundred thousand dollars.

On the fifteenth of September, 1832, occurred the death of the distinguished Judge Livermore. Edward St. Loe Livermore was the son of the Hon. Samuel Livermore, and was born at Londonderry (N. H.) in 1761. In 1783, he commenced the practice of law at Concord, and was Solicitor for Rockingham County from 1791 to 1793. From 1797 to 1799, he was a Judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. He was elected Representative in Congress from the old Essex North District in 1807, and reëlected in 1809. He removed to what is now Belvidere about 1816, purchasing the estate of Phillip Gedney, on which he resided till his death. The Livermore estate then passed into the hands of John Nesmith, another native of Londonderry, and of the same sinewy Scotch-Irish stock, which has given to the United States so many distinguished men—Presidents Jackson, Polk, Buchanan, and Johnson, Generals McClellan, Grant, Sherman, Butler and Mc-

Dowell, not to mention James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley.

In 1833, the Police Court was established—being the first local court established here, since Major General Daniel Gookin played the part of judge, assisted by the Apostle Eliot and the Christian Indian Chiefs. The first Justice of the new court was Joseph Locke.

The bounds of the city were extended in 1834, by the annexation of Belvidere;^{*} and the same year gave birth to the *Lowell Advertiser*. After running for some time under the editorship of B. E. Hale, the *Advertiser* passed into the hands of Eliphalet Case. In the list of Mr. Case's successors are found the names of N. P. Banks, H. H. Weld, J. G. Abbott, I. W. Beard, William Butterfield, Henry E. and Samuel C. Baldwin, Fisher A. Hildreth, Robbins Dinsmore, and J. J. Maguire. The *Advertiser* always supported the Democracy; but the Democracy never supported the *Advertiser*; and in 1864 it collapsed.

In 1833 the Lowell Irish Benevolent Society was established. Their charitable disbursements amount to fifteen hundred dollars per annum. In 1843, this society was incorporated by the Legislature.

In 1833, Francis A. Calvert began in Lowell that career of mechanical invention, which has given to the world the burring-machine, the comber, and the cotton-willow. The first worsted-spinning machinery in Lowell was built and started by him. As the final product of his genius, the world is yet promised a percussive steam-engine, though this *chef d'œuvre* remains thus far imperfect. His ingenious brother, William W. Calvert, came to Lowell in 1825, and remained for twenty years. He died in 1847, at Panama.

On the 26th of June, 1833, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, made a visit to Lowell, accompanied by

^{*} The beautiful faubourg of Belvidere received its name originally as a term of reproach, on account of the lawless scenes then frequently witnessed there.

Martin Van Buren, then Vice President, Judge Woodbury, and other members of the Cabinet. A brief address of welcome was made by Joshua Swan, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen; to which the President made an appropriate response. He then proceeded through the principal streets, where triumphal arches had been erected and decorated artistically with flags and flowers. He was escorted by the Selectmen, the Committee of Arrangements, (of which Kirk Boott was Chairman), a regiment of militia, a cavalcade of two hundred citizens, six hundred school children, and over twenty-five hundred factory girls. Clothed in white, these Lowell factory girls looked like "livered angels." They walked four deep, and their beauty and their elegance of dress were greatly admired. The procession passed in review before the President, with drums beating, cannon booming, banners flying, handkerchiefs waving, and nine times nine hearty cheers of welcome. The old hero could hardly have been more moved amid the din of battle at New Orleans, than by the exhilarating spectacle here presented. He seemed to enter Lowell, as Scipio entered Rome after the defeat of Hannibal, or as Napoleon entered Paris after the treaty of Campo Formio. The procession over, the President visited the Merrimack Company's mills, and saw some of the works put in operation by the girls in their gala attire. On his return to the hotel, he was visited by a young lady, who requested the privilege of kissing the father of her country. It was a startling request; but Jackson submitted with becoming resignation.

It is interesting to observe how a spectacle like this impressed the imagination of the distinguished French statesman, Chevalier, now Minister of Finance to Napoleon the Third:—

"If these scenes were to find a painter, they would be admired at a distance, not less than the triumphs and sacrificial pomps which the ancients have left us delineated in marble and brass; for they are not mere grotesques after the manner of Rembrandt—they belong to history, they partake of the grand; they are the episodes of a wondrous epic which will bequeath a lasting memory to posterity, that of the coming of democracy."

Four months after Jackson's departure, October 25th, 1833, Henry Clay visited Lowell, was shown through the mills and schools, and treated with all the attention due to so distinguished a guest. Luther Lawrence was Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, Kirk Boott having declined. Remembering how Clay had advocated the declaration of war against England in 1812,—how he had made his country the cat's-paw of Napoleon,—and how, on Napoleon's downfall, he had patched up a hasty peace, without securing one of the objects for which war had been declared,—Mr. Boott utterly refused to assist in any honors to Mr. Clay.

In the evening, Mr. Clay addressed the citizens in the Town Hall, which was illuminated with candles; and though Kirk Boott was not there, the hall was filled to its utmost capacity. Never, probably, has an orator faced a more enthusiastic audience. Never was an audience moved by a more impassioned orator.

Nineteen years rolled away; the twenty-fifth of October came round again: but the sleep that knows no waking had fallen on Henry Clay; and all that was mortal of his great compeer, Daniel Webster, lay in the chamber at Marshfield attired for the tomb!

In May, 1834, the famous comic statesman, Colonel David Crockett, visited Lowell, and was hospitably entertained at the Stone House, near Pawtucket Falls. He visited the factories; and at the Middlesex Mills, Samuel Lawrence presented him with a suit of broadcloth. He met the young men of Lowell, by their request, at supper, and made a shrewd, sensible speech, full of Crockettisms and fun.*

A few months after Crockett, came George Thompson, Member of Parliament and Abolitionist, who, as many a village politician verily believed, was sent on his campaign in the United States by the British Government, and had his pockets loaded with British gold, for the express purpose of breaking

* Crockett's Life of Himself, p. 217.

✓ up our glorious Union. On October 5th, 1834, he spoke in the Town Hall, where "gentlemen of property and standing" banded together and mobbed him as an emissary of the devil. A brick which was thrown at him through the window, and which failed to hit him, was long preserved as a sacred relic by the late H. L. C. Newton, one of Thompson's most ardent friends.

It was in 1834 that M. Chevalier, the French political economist, already mentioned, was sent to this country by M. Thiers, Minister of the Interior to Louis Phillippi, for the purpose of inspecting the public works of the United States. His impressions touching the characteristics of our social organization and the workings of our political institutions, were published in letters to the *Journal des Debats*, and afterward as a separate work. These letters attracted great attention at the time. In a letter from Lowell, he says:

— "Unlike the cities of Europe, which were built by some demi-god, son of Jupiter, or by some hero of the siege of Troy, or by an inspiration of the genius of a Cæsar or an Alexander, or by the assistance of some holy monk, attracting crowds by his miracles, or by the caprice of some great king, like Louis XIV. or Frederick, or by an edict of Peter the Great, it (Lowell) is neither a pious foundation, a refuge of the persecuted, nor a military post. It is a *speculation of the merchants of Boston*. The same spirit of enterprise which the last year suggested to them to send a cargo of ice to Calcutta, that Lord William Bentinck and the Nabobs of the India Company might drink their wine cool, has led them to build a city, wholly at their expense, with all the edifices required by an advanced civilization, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton cloths and printed calicoes. They have succeeded, as they usually do, in their speculations." *

Foreseeing that the Merrimack Valley and indeed all New England would become to Boston what Lancashire was to Liverpool, M. Chevalier continues:

"The inhabitants possess in the highest degree a genius for mechanics. They are patient, skillful, full of invention;—they must increase in manufactures. It is in fact already done, and Lowell is a little Manchester."

So pleased was M. Chevalier with the factories and factory girls of Lowell, that, more than thirty years later, in 1866, when a member of the Commission charged with the organiza-

* Letters from the United States, p. 131.

tion of the Exposition of 1867, he wrote to Senator Sumner, invoking his efforts to have a group of these girls sent to Paris, with their looms, so that they might be seen in Paris, at work, as they are seen in Lowell.

In 1835, Joel Stone of Lowell and J. P. Simpson of Boston built the steamboat "Herald," and placed her upon the Merrimack to ply twice a day between Lowell and Nashua. But owing to the shortness of the distance, the inconvenience of the landing-places, and the necessity for shiftings of the passengers and baggage, this enterprise proved a failure, even before the railroad was opened between the two termini. It was, however, continued by Joseph Bradley until after the opening of the railroad, when the boat was taken to Newburyport, and sold for service elsewhere.

In the same year that the "Herald" began her trips, the Nashua and Lowell Railroad Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$600,000. The Lowell Almshouse dates from the same year.

The Hall of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association was also erected in 1835, chiefly by contributions from the various manufacturing companies of Lowell. In this hall hang full-length paintings of George Washington, Kirk Boott, Patrick T. Jackson, Abbott Lawrence, Nathan Appleton, and John A. Lowell. There, too, are half-length portraits of Daniel Webster and Elisha Huntington, with busts of Abraham Lincoln and George Peabody.

On the sixth of January, 1835, first appeared the Lowell *Courier*, the oldest daily newspaper now existing in Middlesex County. For ten years it was published tri-weekly only, but became a daily in 1845. Its publishers were Leonard Huntress and Daniel H. Knowlton, and it was printed in the office of the *Mercury*—a weekly paper started in 1829, and afterward consolidated with the *Courier*. In the February following, the *Journal* also was consolidated with the *Courier*. In the editorial roll of the *Journal*, and of the *Courier*, during

the last forty years, we find the names of John S. C. Knowlton, John R. Adams, John L. Sheafe, Edward C. Purdy, John S. Sleeper, H. H. Weld, John P. Robinson, Seth Ames, Charles H. Locke, Daniel H. Knowlton, Leonard Huntress, Thomas Hopkinson, Elisha Bartlett, Elisha Huntington, Elisha Fuller, Albert Locke, Robbins Dinsmore, William O. Bartlett, Daniel S. Richardson, William Schouler, William S. Robinson, James Atkinson, Leander R. Streeter, John H. Warland, Charles Cowley, John A. Goodwin, Benjamin W. Ball, Samuel N. Merrill, Homer A. Cooke, Zina E. Stone and George A. Marden.

In this list are many of the ablest men that have ever resided in Lowell. Under their management this paper was often quoted as authority by other journals in New England. But the gravitation of all things toward Boston, with the immense and inevitable superiority of the papers of that city, has arrested the growth of the *Courier*, and of many other papers within equal proximity to "the Hub." What with steam-railroads, horse-railroads, telegraphs and the habit of traveling, Lowell is now, practically, as near to Boston as Charlestown was in the first days of the *Courier*. It is time that counts now. Space is extinguished.

By this time, the fame of Lowell as a theatre of the Cotton Manufacture had extended throughout Christendom. The solid Englishman, the impressible Frenchman, the phlegmatic Dutchman, thought the tour of the United States incomplete until he had visited Lowell. It was not enough to visit New York and New Orleans, traverse the prairies, climb the Alleghanies, and listen to the thunder of Niagara. He must come to the City of Spindles, and enter the great temples of the "Divinity of Labor," each more spacious than the Temple of Jeddo, the Mosque of St. Sophia, or the Cathedral of Milan; and hear from the legions of priests and priestesses "the Gospel according to Poor Richard's Almanac."

Through these visitors, Lowell first awoke to the singular beauty of her own natural scenery. The whole valley of the

Merrimack is noted for its picturesqueness; but from the mountains to the main, there is no lovelier scene than that which meets the eye when from the summit of Christian Hill, we look down upon Lowell, and survey the varied landscape unrolled like a beautiful map before us. The spacious natural amphitheatre surrounded by hills,—the sky-blue rivers,—the long lines of mills,—the labyrinth of brick and masonry,—the obeliscal chimnies curtaining the heavens with smoke,—the spires of churches, belfries of factories, and gables of houses,—the radiant cross of St. Patrick's pointing away from earth,—the forests in the background, and the noble blue mountains of Monadnock, Wachusett and Watatic in the distance,—all combine to form a scene that must be pleasing to every eye that has been quickened to the beauties of art and nature.

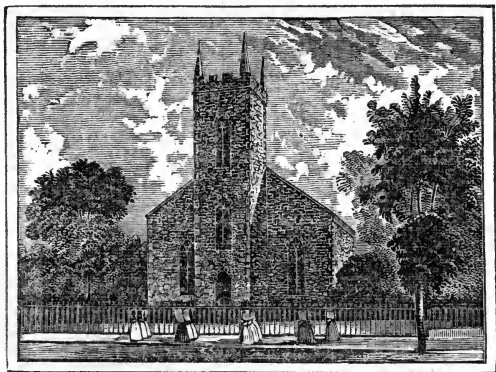
CHAPTER VI.

CHURCH HISTORY OF LOWELL.

St. Anne's—First Baptist—First Congregational—St. Paul's—First Universalist—Unitarian—Appleton Street Congregational—Worthen Street Baptist—St. Patrick's—Freewill Baptist—Second Universalist—Third Baptist—John Street Congregational—Worthen Street Methodist—St. Peter's—Ministry-at-Large—Kirk Street Congregational—High Street Congregational—St. Mary's—Third Universalist—Central Methodist—Lee Street Unitarian—Prescott Street Wesleyan—Methodist Protestant Church—St. John's.

St. Anne's Church was the first edifice that was dedicated to religious worship in the present territory of Lowell, since the erection of that modest log chapel in which the Rev. John Eliot and his Indian assistant, Samuel, preached to the copper-colored Christians of Wamesit, two centuries ago.

The founders of the Merrimack Corporation made early provision for religious worship among their operatives. "In December, 1822," says Appleton, "Messrs. Jackson and Boott were appointed a committee to build a suitable church; and in April, 1824, it was voted that it should be built of stone, not to exceed a cost of nine thousand dollars." The Episcopal form of service was adopted, because Mr. Boott was an Episcopalian, and naturally desired to bring into "the Church" as many as possible of the people then flocking to East Chelmsford, some of whom had drank of one dilution of Christianity, some of another, and some of none at all. The church was organized, February 24th, 1824, and was called originally "The Merrimack Religious Society."



The first public religious services were conducted by the Rev. Theodore Edson, on Sunday, March 7th, 1824, in the Merrimack Company's School House, which was opened to pupils the same year. The church edifice and the parsonage adjoining were erected in 1825. It is a substantial edifice, built of dark stone, with Gothic doors and arched windows, and shaded by forest trees. The cost of the edifice, including

subsequent additions, was about \$16,000. It was consecrated by Bishop Griswold, March 16th, 1825.* The Rev. Dr. Edson, the first and only rector of this church, bids fair to celebrate the Jubilee of St. Anne's, in 1874.

In the tower of St. Anne's is a chime of eleven bells, mounted in 1857, weighing nearly ten thousand pounds and costing over \$4,000. Their sonorous tones would be better appreciated had they been placed higher.

"Amid these peaceful scenes their sound
Has soothed the wretched—cheered the poor;
In them has Love a solace found,
And Hope a friend sincere and sure."

On the eighth of February, 1826, the First Baptist Church was organized. The church edifice—one of the largest in Lowell—was built the same year, the land being given to the society by Mr. Thomas Hurd, the satinnet manufacturer mentioned in a former chapter. The edifice, which cost over \$10,000, was dedicated November 15th, 1826, when the Rev. John Cookson was installed as pastor. He was dismissed August 5th, 1827, and was succeeded, June 4th, 1828, by the Rev. Enoch W. Freeman, who remained until his mysterious death, September 22nd, 1835. Rev. Joseph W. Eaton was ordained pastor of this church, February 24th, 1836, and dismissed February 1st, 1837. Rev. Joseph Ballard was installed December 25th, 1837, and dismissed September 1st, 1845. Rev. Daniel C. Eddy was ordained, January 29th, 1846, and dismissed after a longer pastorate than any of his predecessors, at the close of 1856. Dr. Eddy was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1855, and Chaplain of the Senate in 1856. Rev. William H. Alden was installed June 14th, 1857, and dismissed in April, 1864. Rev. William E. Stanton was ordained November 2nd, 1865.

The First Congregational Church was organized June 6th, 1826. The church edifice was built in 1827, on land given

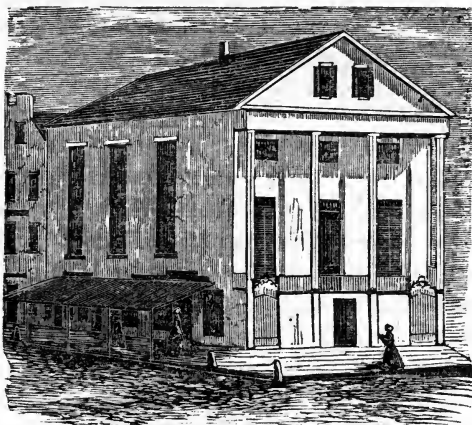
* See the St. Anne's Church case, 14 Gray, pp. 586-613; and Edson's Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon.

by the Locks and Canals Company, and cost, with improvements, some \$13,000. The first pastor, Rev. George C. Beckwith, was ordained July 18th, 1827, and dismissed March 18th, 1829. Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., was ordained December 5th, 1829, and dismissed May 21st, 1845, when he became pastor of the Kirk Street church. Rev. Willard Child was installed pastor, October 1st, 1845, and dismissed January 31st, 1855. Rev. J. L. Jenkins was ordained October 17th, 1855, and dismissed in April, 1862. Rev. George N. Webber was installed in October, 1862, and dismissed April 1st, 1867. Rev. Horace James, the present pastor, succeeded him.



The Hurd Street Methodist Episcopal Church dates from 1826. The edifice is the largest Protestant church in Lowell; it was erected in 1839, at an expense of \$18,500. It being the custom of the denomination to make frequent changes in

the location of their clergy, the pastors of this church have been numerous, and their terms of service brief. Rev. Benjamin Griffin was pastor in 1826; A. D. Merrill in 1827; B. F. Lambert in 1828; A. D. Sargeant in 1829; E. K. Avery in 1830 and 1831; George Pickering in 1832; A. D. Merrill, for the second time, in 1833 and 1834; Ira M. Bidwell in 1835; Orange Scott in 1836; E. M. Stickney in 1837 and 1838; Orange Scott, again, in 1839 and 1840; Schuyler Hoes in 1841 and 1842; W. H. Hatch in 1843 and 1844; Abel Stevens in 1845; C. K. True in 1846 and 1847; A. A. Willets in 1848; John H. Twombly in 1849 and 1850; G. F. Cox in 1851 and 1852; L. D. Barrows in 1853 and 1854; D. E. Chapin 1855; George M. Steele in 1856 and 1857; H. M. Loud in 1858 and 1859; William R. Clark in 1860 and 1861; Daniel Dorchester in 1862 and 1863; Samuel F. Upham in 1864, 1865 and 1866. In 1865, Rev. Mr. Upham was Chaplain of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was succeeded by Rev. S. F. Jones, in 1867.



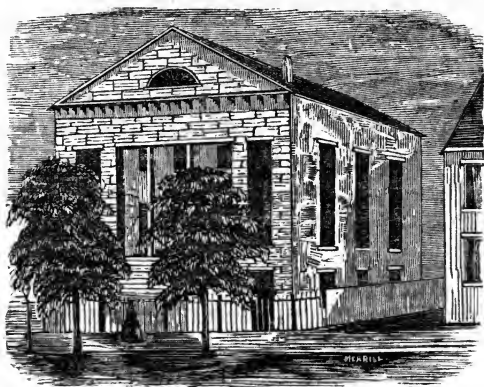
In July, 1827, a society was organized under the name of the First Universalist Church. In the following year, they

erected their church on Chapel street, but removed it in 1837 to Central street. The edifice cost \$16,000. The first pastor settled over this church was the Rev. Eliphalet Case, who officiated here from 1828 to 1830, but afterward abandoned the ministry to become a reformer, a politician, a post-master, a journalist, and a rum-seller. The next four pastors were Calvin Gardner, from 1830 to 1833; Thomas B. Thayer, from 1833 to 1845; E. G. Brooks, in 1845; and Uriah Clark, from 1846 to 1850, when he began to develop "Free Love" proclivities. Rev. T. B. Thayer was again settled here in 1851, and remained till October, 1857. He was much beloved by his people, and the regrets which attended his departure, were intensified by a painful accident shortly afterward, which involved the fracture and almost loss of a leg, with the additional affliction of a newspaper war with some of his own surgeons. In 1859, Rev. J. J. Twiss succeeded Dr. Thayer.

At the time of the organization of this society, the lords of the loom, under the monarchy of Kirk Boott, exercised arbitrary power, not only over the acts and votes, but also over the thoughts and even over the charities of those in their employ. To cherish the hope that the loving-kindness of the Father will attend the whole family of man through the life to come, was enough to put any man under a cloud. For contributing toward the erection of this church, and for advocating the principles of Gen. Jackson, Mr. (now Rev.) T. J. Greenwood was dismissed from his place as an overseer on the Merrimack Corporation by the direct order of Mr. Boott. Such an act of bigotry would hardly occur now. We have made some progress during the forty years of Lowell. By the way, it was in Mr. Greenwood's room, that Nathaniel P. Banks began his career as a "bobbin-boy," ere yet he aspired to become a lawyer, legislator, governor, major-general, etc.

The South Congregational (Unitarian) Church was organized November 7th, 1830. The edifice cost \$32,000, and was dedicated December 25th, 1832. Rev. William Barry was pastor

of this church from 1830 to 1835; Henry A. Miles, D. D., from 1836 to 1853; Theodore Tibbetts, in 1855 and 1856; Frederick Hinckley, from 1856 to 1864. Rev. Charles Grinnell was ordained pastor February 19th, 1867.



The Appleton Street (Orthodox) Congregational Church dates from December 2nd, 1830. The edifice, which cost \$9,000, was erected in 1831. The succession of pastors has been—William Twining from 1831 to 1835; U. C. Burnap, from 1837 to 1852; George Darling, from 1852 to 1855; John P. Cleaveland, D. D., from 1855 to 1862, when he became Chaplain of the Thirtieth Regiment, in the Department of the Gulf; J. E. Rankin, from 1863 to 1865. Rev. A. P. Foster was ordained October 3rd, 1866.

The Worthen Street Baptist Church was organized in 1831. The edifice known as St. Mary's Church was built for this society. The present edifice was built in 1838, costing \$8,000. The pastors have been—James Barnaby, from 1832 to 1835; Lemuel Porter, from 1835 to 1851; J. W. Smith, from 1851 to 1853; D. D. Winn, from 1853 to 1855; T. D. Worrall, of

memory like Uriah Clark, from 1855 to 1857; J. W. Bonham, from 1857 to 1860; George F. Warren, from 1860 to 1867.

The digging of the canals and the building of the mills early attracted the sons of "the Emerald Isle" to Lowell. Different clergymen of their faith attended them here, secured for the time such places as were obtainable, and offered "the clean sacrifice for the quick and dead." In 1831, a church was erected called St. Patrick's, which was replaced in 1854 by the splendid edifice which now bears that name, the cost of which was about \$75,000. This building is 186 feet long by 106 wide. The height of the body of the church is 61 feet from the floor. The architecture is of the Gothic style of the thirteenth century. Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, assisted by Bishop O'Riley of Hartford, consecrated this church, October 29th, 1854. The pastors of St. Patrick's have been—Revs. John Mahoney, Peter Connelly, James T. McDermott, Henry J. Tucker, and John O'Brien. Among the many assistants that have officiated here, was Rev. Timothy O'Brien, who died in 1855, and to whose memory an elegant monument was erected in St. Patrick's Church-yard.

In 1833, a free church of the Christian denomination was organized under the ministry of Rev. Timothy Cole. Successful for some years, the experiment finally failed; and Cole's church, after passing through the hands of the Methodists, became first a dance-hall, and afterward the armory of the Jackson Musketeers, an Irish military company, whose muskets were taken from them by Gov. Gardner. Having mentioned the Jackson Musketeers, it is but fair to say that when the late war broke out in 1861, they forgot and forgave the Know Nothing fanaticism of 1855, and, rushing to arms among the first, illustrated on many a bloody field how bravely the sons of Ireland die for their adopted homes.

The Freewill Baptist Church was organized in 1834. The proprietors were incorporated in 1836. The spacious edifice on Merrimack street, opposite Central street, was erected in

1837, at a cost of \$20,000, which was largely contributed by the factory girls. There preached the somewhat famous Elder Thurston, now no more; an honest man, and popular as a preacher, but incapable of managing important matters of business, such as he was foolishly encouraged to undertake, in connection with this church. Through his incapacity, more than ten thousand dollars was lost, in the course of six years, and a tremendous panic ensued. He was denounced as a thief, and indicted and convicted of cheating; but the Supreme Court set the verdict aside, and the prosecution of the elder was stopped.

Then arose controversies about the church property,^{*} which was under more than fifty attachments at once. These suits ended adversely to the society; and on July 29th, 1846, the deacons were forcibly ejected from the church by Joseph Butterfield, a Deputy Sheriff, on an execution issued upon a judgment belonging to Benjamin F. Butler, Thomas Hopkinson, and Tappan Wentworth, who personally assisted in ousting the deacons.

That comedy might follow tragedy, the new proprietors, Benjamin F. Butler and Fisher A. Hildreth, converted the church into a museum and theatre. After being used thus for nine years, once struck by lightning, and three times burned, in 1856, this ill-starred edifice was fitted up for a dance-hall, a bowling alley, lawyers' offices, a newspaper office, an exchange, etc.

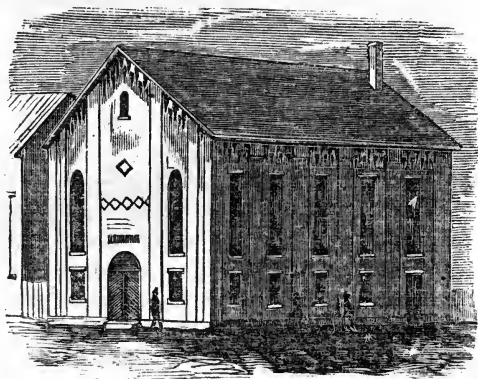
Attempts have been made to use one part of it as a lecture-hall, but without success; though the famous Lola Montez, the discarded mistress of the late king of Bavaria, delivered her lecture on Beautiful Women here. Nor have the attempts to use this edifice as a caucus-hall been any more successful. The last attempt of the kind was made in 1860. On that memorable occasion, Theodore H. Sweetser began a speech but just as he was capping his first climax, a gentleman who

^{*} 8 Metcalf, 301; 2 Cushing, 597; 4 Cushing, 302.

disapproved of his remarks, suddenly turned off the gas, and "brought down the house" in the wildest merriment and confusion.

The strategical manœuverings by which this edifice was transferred from the ecclesiastical proprietors to their lay successors, were none too creditable to the consciences of the manipulators. But perhaps they did not fully realize the scandalousness of their proceedings, and failed to hear the still, small voice of conscience in following the more clamorous calls of avarice and ambition.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since the perversion of this edifice into a museum. Let us hope that before another twenty years have rolled by, this church—the monument of the piety of the factory girls of Lowell—will be restored to its original purposes, and reconsecrated to the worship of the everliving God.



In 1853, another edifice was built on Paige street, costing \$16,700, now occupied by this church. The pastors of this church have been—Revs. Nathaniel Thurston, Jonathan Wood-

man, Silas Curtis, A. K. Moulton, J. B. Davis, Darwin Mott, (a wolf in sheep's clothing, who finally ran away with another man's wife,) George W. Bean, and J. B. Drew.

The Second Universalist Church was gathered in 1836, and the house erected in 1837, at a cost of \$20,000. The pastors of this church have been—Z. Thompson, from 1837 to 1839; Abel C. Thomas, from 1839 to 1842; A. A. Miner, D. D., from 1842 to 1848; L. J. Fletcher, who became involved in his domestic relations, and remained but a few months; L. B. Mason, from 1848 to 1849; I. D. Williamson, from 1849 to 1850; N. M. Gaylord, from 1850 to 1853. John S. Dennis, Charles Cravens and Charles H. Dutton were then settled here for a few months each. In 1859, Rev. L. J. Fletcher again became pastor, having, since his former settlement, run a varied career as preacher, play-writer, actor, gold-miner, school-master, lawyer, politician, judge of insolvency, etc. His second pastorate continued three years, and was eminently successful. Rev. F. E. Hicks succeeded Mr. Fletcher, but soon died, and was succeeded in 1866 by Rev. John G. Adams.

On July 4th, 1836, the Lowell Sabbath School Union was organized, by the pastors of the several evangelical churches, and the superintendents and teachers of the various Sunday Schools connected therewith.

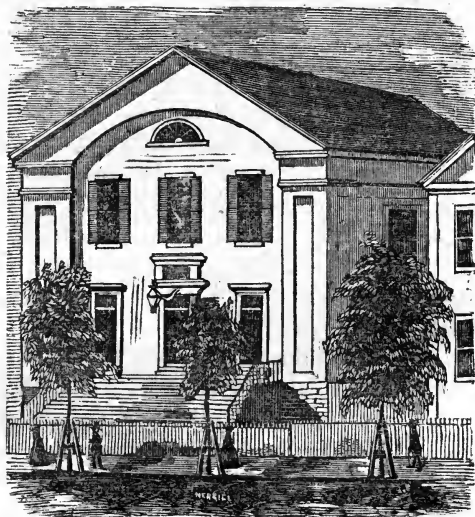
The John Street (Orthodox) Congregational Church was organized May 9th, 1839. Their edifice was built the same year, at a cost of \$20,000, and dedicated January 24th, 1840. Rev. Stedman W. Hanks, the first pastor, was ordained March 20th, 1840, and dismissed February 3rd, 1853. He was succeeded by Rev. Eden B. Foster, D. D., who resigned his charge in 1861, but resumed his ministrations here in 1866. During his absence, Rev. Joseph W. Backus, was pastor.

In 1840, the Third Baptist Church was organized. In 1846, the edifice now occupied by the Central Methodist Church, was built for this society, costing about \$14,000. After battling for life for nearly twenty years, under the pastorate of Revs.

John G. Naylor, Ira Person, John Duncan, Sereno Howe, John Duer, and John Hubbard, this church was disbanded in 1861.

The mention of the Rev. Sereno Howe renders it proper to say, that during his seven years' residence in Lowell, from 1849 to 1856, his private life was irreproachable. That he afterward became addicted to licentious indulgencies, in Abington, may, in charity, be attributed to constitutional infirmities, against which he may have struggled long and bravely, but in vain.

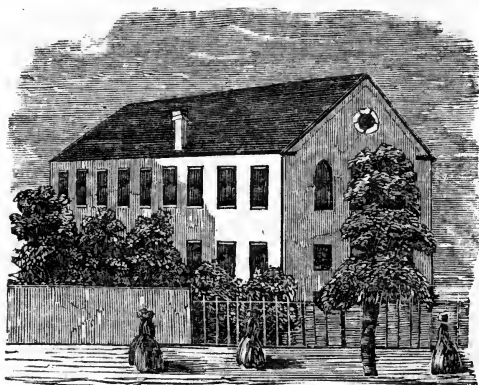
"What's done we partly may compute;
But know not what's resisted."



The Worthen Street Methodist Episcopal Church was organized October 2nd, 1841, and the edifice erected in 1842, at a cost of \$8,800. The succession of pastors has been—Revs. A. D. Sargeant, A. D. Merrill, J. S. Springer, Isaac A. Savage, Charles Adams, I. J. P. Collyer, M. A. Howe, J. W. Dadmun,

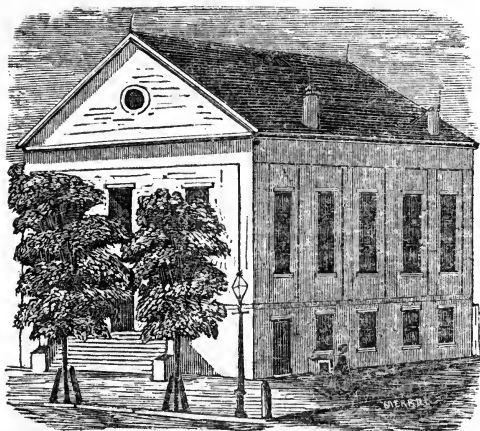
William H. Hatch, A. D. Sargeant, (again), L. R. Thayer, William H. Hatch, (again), and J. O. Peck, one of the gayest Lotharios that ever flourished in the Lowell pulpit. Rev. George Whittaker succeeded Mr. Peck in 1867.

St Peter's Roman Catholic Church was gathered on Christmas Day, 1841, and the edifice built the same year, costing \$22,000. Rev. James Conway, the first pastor of St. Peter's, was succeeded in March, 1847, by Rev. Peter Crudden.



In 1843, the Lowell Missionary Society established a Ministry-at-Large after the style of that established in Boston by the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman. Rev. Horatio Wood has officiated in this ministry since 1844. He has also labored assiduously and successfully in Free Evening Schools, Sunday Mission Schools, etc.

The Kirk Street Congregational Church dates from 1845, and the edifice from 1846. The cost of the land, edifice, organ, etc., was \$22,000. Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., has been pastor of this church ever since its organization.



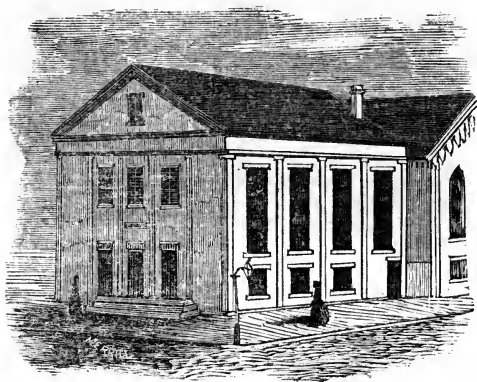
In the substantial elements of parochial strength, this church is one of the strongest in Lowell. Yet four lines suffice for its history—it having had no changes in its pastorate, no heresy, no schism, no scamps, no scandal. “Happy are the people whose annals are barren.”

The High Street Congregational Church was organized in 1846. Their edifice, which cost \$12,500, was built by St. Luke's Church, an Episcopal society which was formed in 1842, and which perished in 1844, under Rev. A. D. McCoy. The pastors have been—Rev. Timothy Atkinson, from 1846 to 1847; Rev. Joseph H. Towne, from 1848 to 1853; and Rev. O. T. Lamphier, from 1855 to 1856. Rev. Owen Street, the present pastor, was installed September 17th, 1857.

St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church was originally built for the Baptists, but was ill located for any Protestant sect. After passing through various vicissitudes, in 1846, it was purchased by the late Rev. James T. McDermott, and consecrated March 7th, 1847. Father McDermott's independence of mind involved him in a controversy with his Diocesan, the late Bishop Fitzpatrick; and for years this church has been closed. This

is much to be regretted; for in Lowell, as in all the centres of population, the Roman Catholic Church has a great body of the poor and laboring classes in her communion; and as Brownson remarks, "the country is more indebted than it is aware of, to the Catholic priesthood, for their labors among this portion of our population."*

In 1843, the Third Universalist Church was organized, and the edifice now known as Barrister's Hall built for its use. But after a languid existence under Revs. H. G. Smith, John Moore, H. G. Smith, (again), and L. J. Fletcher, it was dissolved. The two last pastors of this church were not in full fellowship with their denomination, but preached independently as ecclesiastical guerrillas.



The Central Methodist Church occupied this edifice, after the collapse of the Universalist society, until 1861, when they secured the building of the Third Baptist Church, then defunct. This Central Methodist society was gathered in 1854. The pastors have been—Revs. William S. Studley,

* Father O'Brien estimates the number of Roman Catholics in Lowell to be fifteen thousand.

Isaac S. Cushman, Isaac J. P. Collyer, Chester Field, Lorenzo R. Thayer and J. H. Mansfield. Rev. Andrew McKeown succeeded Mr. Mansfield in 1865, and remained two years. He was succeeded in 1867 by Rev. William C. High.



In 1850, a picturesque stone edifice, of Gothic style, with stained windows, was erected on Lee street, at a cost of \$20,000. It was designed for a Unitarian society, organized in 1846, which occupied it until 1861, whose pastors were Revs. M. A. H. Niles, William Barry, Augustus Woodbury, J. K. Karcher, John B. Willard, and William C. Tenney.

Since 1864 it has been occupied by a society of Spiritualists.

The wooden edifice on Prescott street containing Leonard Worcester's clothes-making establishment, has an ecclesiastical history that must not be lost. It was the first church erected by the Episcopal Methodists in Lowell, and was built in 1827. It stood originally at the corner of Elm and Central

streets. It is from this church or chapel that Chapel Hill derives its name. On the completion of the Hurd street church in 1839, this edifice was closed. But on the organization of the Wesleyan Methodists as a separate denomination, this church passed into their hands. In 1843, it was removed to Prescott Street. Here successively preached Revs. E. S. Potter, James Hardy, Merritt Bates, William H. Brewster,* and Daniel Foster, who became Chaplain of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1857, and subsequently Chaplain of the Thirty-Third Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and who was killed in battle at Fort Harrison, September 30th, 1864, while in command of a company of the Thirty-Seventh Colored Troops.

If Captain Foster was the last, Mr. Hardy was the most popular in this succession of pastors. He began his ministry here in 1846, and flourished brilliantly for a time, selecting the best sermons of the ablest English divines, and palming them off as his own—his too credulous people admiring and wondering at his ability and versatility.

“And still he talked, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew.”

Mr. Hardy, however, proved anything but a good shepherd. He developed tendencies toward practical Mormonism and Free Love. He not only had one wife too many, but he was discovered in a *liason* with one of the ladies of his choir, and his pastorate was brought to an abrupt termination. He subsequently “took a degree” in a New York penitentiary for bigamy, and died ingloriously.

On July 5th, 1855, the stone edifice on Merrimack street erected by the late William Wyman, was dedicated as a Methodist Protestant Church. There preached Revs. William Marks, Richard H. Dorr, Robert Crossley, and others,

* Mr. Brewster had previously been pastor of a second Wesleyan society, which long occupied the edifice on Lowell street, where Rev. Timothy Cole formerly preached.

both clerical and lay, not the least of whom was Captain Wyman himself. But after a few years the enterprise aborted; and the edifice passed into the hands of the Second Adventists, a society formed here as early as 1842.

St. John's Episcopal church was erected in 1861, and consecrated by Bishop Eastburn, July 16th, 1863. Rev. Charles W. Homer, who had previously been assistant minister at St. Anne's, was the first rector. On November 22nd, 1862, he resigned, and was succeeded in 1863, by Rev. Cornelius B. Smith, to whom in 1866 succeeded Rev. Charles L. Hutchins. In this edifice is a Memorial Window to the late Elisha Huntington.

Besides the churches herein chronicled, others have been formed at various times, which acquired no permanent foothold, but experienced all varieties of fortune, and passed into the limbo of oblivion, leaving no discernable footprints on the ever-changing sands of time.

The number of churches now "in commission" here is eighteen. The population of Lowell is about forty thousand. If, then, we assume each church to have, upon an average, six hundred attendants, we shall have, in the aggregate, ten thousand eight hundred church-goers; and if to this we add twenty-two hundred who are reached through the Ministry-at-Large, the Mission Schools, etc., we shall still have twenty-seven thousand souls unprovided with stated religious instruction.

CHAPTER VII.

SCHOOL HISTORY OF LOWELL.

District Schools—High School—Edson—Washington—Bartlett—Adams—Franklin—Moody—Green—Mann—Colburn—Varnum—Intermediate—Evening—Carney Medals—Superintendence, etc.

Before the manufacturing companies began their operations here, the eastern school district of Chelmsford contained two common district schools, one near the pound on the old Chelmsford road, and the other near Pawtucket Falls. In 1824, the Merrimack Company, at their own expense, established a school for the children of their operatives, and placed it under the supervision of Rev. Theodore Edson, their minister. This school—the germ of the present Bartlett School—was kept in the lower story of the building then occupied by the Merrimack Religious Society. Colburn's "First Lessons," and his "Sequel" were introduced here, though much denounced and opposed by those who did not understand them. In the following year, the opposition to Colburn's books abated, the school being then in charge of Joel Lewis, who had been a pupil of Colburn, and understood the use of his books.

In 1826, the new-born town of Lowell was divided into six school districts; and one thousand dollars was appropriated for the support of schools during that year. The school for the first district was that which the Merrimack Company had founded; that for the second district stood near where the Hospital now stands; that for the third, near the Pound; that for the fourth, near Hale's Mills; that for the fifth—the germ of the present Edson School—near the site of the Free Chapel; that for the sixth, near the south corner of Central and Hurd streets. As population multiplied, other schools were opened, but the number of districts remained unchanged until 1832, when the district system terminated.

The first School Committee consisted of Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, Samuel Batchelder, John O. Green, and Elisha Huntington. Their report was read in the town meeting in March, 1827, and recorded in the town book. The appropriate custom of reading school committees' reports in town meeting is now universal in Massachusetts. Concord, which claims the honor of leading in this custom, did not adopt it until 1830, four years after it had been introduced in Lowell.*

In the management of these schools, the School Committee, for some years, encountered many difficulties, through the fierce antagonisms of interest and feeling which arose between the old settlers and the operatives in the mills. The old prejudice against Colburn's books soon revived with unwonted fury, especially in the third district, which was the smallest and the most troublesome in the town. In the winter of 1826-7, a teacher—Perley Morse—was employed by the Prudential Committee, who joined in the opposition to Colburn's books, and whom the School Committee refused to approve; but the Prudential Committee, contrary to law, backed by the people, sustained him in his school. The excitement reached its crisis at the town meeting in March, 1828. The report of the School Committee had no sooner been read, than, by vote of the meeting, it was *laid under the table*; and a motion was made that the Committee be laid under the table too. Neither Colburn, nor Edson, nor any of their associates were then re-elected; but a new Committee was chosen, perfectly supple and subservient to popular caprice.

The operation of the complex machinery of the District system was attended with constant friction; and on the third of September, 1832, a town meeting was held to determine

* Edson's Colburn School Address, p. 12. Mr. Boutwell's statement on the sixty-first page of his last report as Secretary of the Board of Education, requires correction. For the roll of School Committee-men, see the Appendix to the Regulations of the School Committee, 1867. See also Merrill's school sketches in *Lowell Courier*, December, 1859.

whether the town would authorize a loan of \$20,000 to defray the expense of buying land and building two large school houses, with the view of consolidating all the public schools of the town in two large schools, and thus superseding the District system altogether. The whole body of corporation influence, with Kirk Boott to wield it at his imperial will, was brought to bear against the proposed reform; and not a few of the old settlers also clung with fond tenacity to their "*deestric*" schools. So formidable was this opposition, that, although the local clergy and all the most intelligent friends of education strongly favored the innovation, only one man was found with courage enough to advocate it in town meeting. Single handed and alone, Theodore Edson met Kirk Boott and his allies breast to breast; not hesitating

"To beard the lion in his den,
The Douglass in his hall."

During a protracted and tumultuous debate, Edson held his ground unflinchingly, and finally carried his point by twelve majority. Chafing under their defeat, the adherents of the old system called another town meeting on the nineteenth of the same month, when another debate ensued, more tumultuous and more decisive than the last. Two new champions—John P. Robinson and Luther Lawrence—entered the list with Boott; but Edson stood alone as before, and when the vote was taken, carried his point by thirty-eight majority,—convincing his opponents that it would be folly to renew the fight.

The part played by Dr. Edson in this contest was never forgiven by Boott, who even withdrew from the church in which the Doctor officiated. For a time, none of the corporation nabobs would have anything to do with the schools thus erected contrary to their sovereign will and pleasure. It was only when Henry Clay came to Lowell that their High Mightinesses were graciously pleased to let the light of their countenances shine for a moment on the benighted little Hottentots that filled the North and South Grammar Schools.

To detail in full the history of all the schools would be tedious; but the principal schools must not be passed unnoticed; for, as Edward Everett observes, "the dedication of a new first-class school house is at all times an event of far greater importance to the welfare of the community than many of the occurrences which at the time attract much more of the public attention, and fill a larger space in the pages of history."

In December, 1831, the Lowell High School was opened under Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of Rhode Island, as principal teacher. One of his classes contained four boys whose subsequent history may well excite pride in their teacher, if so unsanctified a feeling ever obtains access to the episcopal breast. These boys were Benjamin F. Butler, whose exploits have been recorded with fond exaggeration by Parton; Gustavus V. Fox, the energetic Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the War; E. A. Straw, the efficient Agent of the Amoskeag Mills at Manchester; and George L. Balcom, of Claremont, one of the wealthiest and most successful men in New Hampshire.

The present High School House was erected in 1840, and reconstructed in 1867. Mr. Clark was succeeded in September, 1833, by Nicholas Hoppin; in August, 1834, by William Hall; in May, 1835, by Franklin Forbes; in August 1836, by Moody Currier; in April, 1841, by Nehemiah Cleaveland; in July, 1842, by Mr. Forbes (again;) and in July, 1845, by Charles C. Chase, who has ever since ably and worthily sustained himself at the head of the Lowell corps of teachers.

On February 18th, 1833, the South Grammar School-House was opened, and two schools were united and placed in it. One was the school of what had been the fifth district, which, since November 5th, 1827, had been taught by Joshua Merrill. The school thus formed was the same that afterward took the name of the Edson School. Joshua Merrill had charge of it until October, 1845,* when Perley Balch succeeded him.

* In 1841 and 1842, Mr. Merrill had for his assistant Theodore H. Sweetser, who has since acquired notoriety by his success at the Bar.

In 1856, this edifice was reconstructed, and the Washington School consolidated with the Edson. This Washington School was founded March 24th, 1834, kept for four years in the North School-House, and then removed to the South School-House. Its principals were Nathaniel D. Healey from 1834 to 1835; Samuel S. Dutton and Isaac Whittier in 1835; John Butterfield from 1835 to 1840; Jonathan Kimball from 1840 to 1851; Albert T. Young from 1851 to 1853; P. W. Robertson from 1853 to 1856.

In May, 1833, the North Grammar School-House was completed, and the school, which, until then, had occupied the Merrimack Company's school-house, was moved into the upper part of it, and has continued to occupy it ever since. The principals of this school have been—Joel Lewis from 1825 to 1826; Alfred V. Bassett from 1826 to 1829; Walter Abbott from 1829 to 1830; Reuben Hills from 1830 to 1835; Jacob Graves from 1835 to 1841; G. O. Fairbanks from 1841 to 1842; O. C. Wright from 1842 to 1843; Jacob Graves from 1843 to 1847; and J. P. Fisk from 1847 to 1856, when the edifice was reconstructed and Samuel Bement became principal. Originally known as the Merrimack School, on being removed in 1833 it took the name of the North Grammar School, which it retained till 1850, when the School Committee named it the Hancock School. On the reconstruction of the building in 1856, this school received the name of the Bartlett School, in honor of Dr. Bartlett, the first Mayor of Lowell. At the same time, the Adams School, was consolidated with the Bartlett. The Adams was opened in 1836 in the lower part of the North Grammar School-House. Its first principal was Otis H. Morrill, to whom Samuel Bement succeeded in 1851.

The City Charter of 1836 provided that the School Committee should consist of six persons specially chosen, in addition to the Mayor and Aldermen; but in 1856 the Charter was

amended, and the Aldermen detached from the School Committee, the number of which was increased to twelve, besides the Mayor and the President of the Common Council.

The Franklin Grammar School dates from the winter of 1839, when Rufus Adams opened a school near where the Franklin now stands. George Spaulding taught here from 1840 to 1844, when Nelson H. Morse succeeded him. The present edifice was erected in 1845, and remodeled in 1863. In 1848, Mr. Morse was succeeded first by Ephraim Brown, and afterward by Ephraim W. Young. In 1849, Amos B. Heywood was placed in charge of this school.

On January 8th, 1841, the Moody Grammar School was opened under Seth Pooler, who had been an assistant in the High School since 1838, and who continued principal of the Moody School until 1856, when Joseph Peabody succeeded him.

A few months subsequent to the opening of the Moody School, the Green School was opened. Samuel C. Pratt was principal from 1841 to 1843; Aaron Walker, Junior, from 1843 to 1845; Charles Morrill from 1845 to 1866, when he was chosen Superintendent of Schools. Charles A. Chase succeeded him.

On January 8th, 1844, the Mann Grammar School-House was opened. The school itself had existed as a public school ever since 1835, when the arrangement for comprehending the Irish schools in the public school system of Lowell was first effected by the School Committee and Rev. James Connolly,* the Roman Catholic priest. In 1839 another school was consolidated with it which had previously been in charge of Daniel

* See Reports of the School Committee, 1833 and 1844; Mrs. Mann's Life of Horace Mann, p. 262; New Englander, April, 1848. This arrangement was that the teachers of the Irish children's schools should be Roman Catholics. They were, however, to be subject to examination, and their schools to visitation by the School Committee, in the same manner as other teachers and schools. In a few years, however, the jealousies which rendered this arrangement advisable, subsided, and differences of creed ceased to be recognized in any form in connection with the public schools.

McIllroy. The principals of the present Mann School have been—Patrick Collins, from 1835 to 1838; Daniel McIllroy, from 1838 to 1841; James Egan, from 1841 to 1843; Michael Flynn, from 1843 to 1844; George W. Shattuck, from 1844 to 1853. P. W. Roberston and Albert T. Young were then each in charge for a few months; but before the close of 1853, Samuel A. Chase was appointed principal, and has remained here ever since.

On December 13th, 1848, the Colburn School was opened, when Dr. Edson delivered an address, full of interesting reminiscences of the early school history of Lowell. Aaron Walker, Junior, was principal from 1848 until 1864, when Fidelia O. Dodge succeeded him.

On the annexation of the faubourg of Centralville in 1851, the Varnum School was opened. A. W. Boardman was principal during the two first years, and was succeeded by D. P. Galloupe. Originally kept in the old Academy Building, in 1857, it was removed into the spacious edifice which it now occupies.

In 1851, the School Committee established Intermediate Schools to meet the wants of a numerous class of Irish pupils, too large to be placed to the Primaries, and too backward to be admitted to the Grammar Schools. But in ten years the necessity which called these schools into being, was no longer felt, and they were consolidated with the Grammar Schools.

In 1857, two free Evening Schools which had previously been conducted by the Lowell Missionary Association, were, by vote of the School Committee, comprehended within the public school system of Lowell. In 1859, there were six public evening schools—three for boys and three for girls—under the supervision of the School Committee.* They had two sessions per week and imparted instruction to about five hundred pupils. If any schools should be public and free, surely the *evening schools* of the industrious uninstructed poor

* Report of School Committee, 1859, pp. 28-31.

should be public and free. Yet these have been suffered to languish and die; and the Missionary Society has resumed the work which properly belonged to the city.

In 1858, Mr. James G. Carney presented one hundred dollars to the city, upon the condition that the interest thereof shall annually be appropriated to the procuring of six silver medals, to be distributed to the six best scholars in the High School, forever,—three in the girls' department and three in boys' department. The liberal donation was accepted, and the faith of the city pledged to the just discharge of the trust.* Such was the origin of the Carney Medals, which will continue to be striven for by the pupils of the High School when the dust of unnumbered centuries shall cover the grave of their founder.

In 1859, the experiment of a Superintendent of Public Schools was first tried in Lowell, George W. Shattuck being appointed to that office. But toward the close of the year a popular clamor was raised, and the office abolished. It was revived in 1864, when Abner J. Phipps was made Superintendent. The credit of the revival of this useful and necessary office is largely due to the School Committee. Mr. Phipps was succeeded in 1866 by Charles Morrill.

In 1863, John F. McEvoy, John H. McAlvin and others founded the Lowell High School Association. Annual levees are held by this society, whereat the lives, adventures, songs, services, speeches, hair-breadth escapes and deeds of valor by flood and field of the past pupils of the High School, are commemorated with becoming enthusiasm.

The public educational system of Lowell now consists of one high school, eight grammar schools, and forty-seven primaries, which would probably not suffer by comparison with the schools of other cities in New England.

* See Carney Medal Documents, appended to the Report of the School Committee of 1859.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF LOWELL. 1835—1850.

Marriage and Death of Enoch W. Freeman—Hannah Kinney—Her Trial for Murder—Elias Howe—James C. Ayer—Financial Revulsion—Lowell becomes a City—Death of Kirk Boott—Market House—Courts in Lowell—Death of Luther Lawrence—Wendell Phillips—Lowell Hospital—The Commons—Museum—*The Offering*—Death of Sheriff Varnum—Death of President Harrison—The Cemetery—*Vox Populi*—Charles Dickens—William Graves—President Tyler—Webster Incidents—City Library—Elisha Fuller—Henry F. Durant—Medical Society—Dr. Miles' Book—Newspaper Libels—John G. Whittier—Merrimack River Fisheries—Judge Locke—Judge Crosby—President Polk—Death of Patrick T. Jackson—Northern Canal—Abraham Lincoln—Death of President Taylor—Battle of Suffolk Bridge—Father Mathew—Reservoir on Lynde's Hill.

"The Minister's Wooing" had deeply exercised the ladies of the First Baptist Church, long before that subject employed the pen of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Church Committees, *Ex Parte* Councils and Mutual Councils were again and again appointed to consider the scandals growing out of the courtship of Rev. Enoch W. Freeman and Hannah Hanson.* Mr. Freeman was, of course, sustained; but there was still an undercurrent of discontent in the church, on account of his connection with this remarkable woman. She was a native of Lisbon, in Maine, was the cousin of Mr. Freeman, and had had some tender correspondence with him in early life. In January, 1822, she was married to Ward Witham, at her father's house in Portland. Four children were the fruit of this marriage, which proved anything but a happy one. In February, 1832, the Supreme Judicial Court, sitting at Boston, granted her a decree of divorce from the bond of matrimony, on account of the criminality of Witham. A correspondence between Mr. Freeman and her soon afterward commenced, which culminated in their marriage, September 23rd, 1834. For six months they boarded with Mrs. Charlotte Butler,

* Life of Mrs. Kinney, by Herself.

whose son Benjamin—the future pro-consul of New Orleans—was at that time intended for the Baptist ministry. As Pope sighed

“How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost,”

so may others lament that a Boanerges of the pulpit was spoiled in Butler. In March, 1835, Mr. and Mrs. Freeman made a visit to the father of Mr. Freeman, in Maine. During that visit, the elder Freeman suddenly died, exhibiting the same symptoms which were afterward observed in the case of his son.

Mrs. Freeman continued to be the subject of scandal after her marriage, on account of her supposed intimacy with George T. Kinney of Boston, who had assisted her in obtaining her divorce, and to whom she was said to have been engaged. It was said that Kinney was a frequent visitor at Mr. Freeman's house, and that he was there on the morning of Sunday, September 20th, 1835. On that day, after morning service, Mr. Freeman became suddenly ill, and experienced repeated vomitings. He, however, returned to his pulpit, and commenced the afternoon services, but was unable to proceed, and returned to his house. He continued to grow worse, suffering intense pain internally, until five o'clock on the morning of the following Tuesday, when death released him from his sufferings. He was thirty-seven years of age, and had been married exactly one year. He was a most uxorious husband, and on his death-bed requested that all his wife's children by Witham should adopt his surname. If he really died by poison administered by his wife, his last words to her—“Never feel alone; I shall always be with you”—must have come home with terrible emphasis to her depraved soul.

Just as he closed his eyes in death, he was asked whether he had any advice to leave to his church. He replied, “Tell them to be humble, faithful, zealous and united in love.” A *post mortem* examination showed his stomach to have been highly inflamed, but the contents were not subjected to a

chemical analysis—no suspicion being then entertained that the death was caused by poison. Mrs. Freeman appeared to be deeply affected by her bereavement. One week subsequently, she was confined. She remained for some time in Lowell, keeping a milliner's shop on Merrimack street. She afterward removed to Boston, from whence she sent a weeping willow to be planted by the monument erected over Mr. Freeman's grave. On November 26th, 1836, she was married to George T. Kinney, a man five years younger than herself—a drunkard, a *roué* and a gambler. On August 10th, 1840, Kinney died in a manner similar to Mr. Freeman; and a coroner's jury found that his death was caused by poison administered by his wife.

Long before the death of Kinney, suspicions had been entertained in Lowell that there had been foul play with Mr. Freeman—that his wife had been guilty of the “deep damnation of his taking off.” In consequence of these suspicions, one week subsequent to the death of Kinney, Mr. Freeman's remains were exhumed in the Middlesex street burying-ground and found to be in a remarkable state of preservation. Many a subject has been used to illustrate anatomical lectures, which was more decomposed than the body of Mr. Freeman.

Immediately after Kinney's funeral, Mrs. Kinney made a visit to some of his friends in Thetford, Vermont. There she was arrested and taken back to Boston to stand her trial for murder. On her way thither she stopped at Lowell, arriving here on Sunday afternoon, August 30th. After a few moments' delay, at the American House, she again left in the stage for Boston, in the custody of an officer. Just as the stage was leaving, the congregation to whom Mr. Freeman had ministered, and among whom she had once moved in all the dignity of a pastor's wife, poured along the streets at the close of their afternoon services. With what emotion they gazed on the weeping prisoner, and with what agony she met their gaze, it is easier to imagine than describe.

The trial of Mrs. Kinney for the murder of Kinney began December 21st, 1840, and closed on Christmas Day. The defence was conducted by Franklin Dexter and George T. Curtis. Although she was acquitted by the jury, there have always been persons among those who knew her, who have persisted in believing that she was guilty,—that she poisoned two husbands and one husband's father,—in short, that she was an American Lucretia Borgia. But while the deaths of the three supposed victims are most easily explained upon the hypothesis of poison, the total absence of motive on the part of the accused, envelopes each case in the gravest doubt.

In 1835, Central Village contained about forty dwelling houses. Central Village Academy was incorporated and enjoyed a flourishing existence for some years.

It was in 1835 that Elias Howe, Junior—then a boy of sixteen—came to Lowell. He remained here two years, employed in building cotton machinery. While here, he probably became acquainted with the experiments which John A. Bradshaw was then making with the sewing machine. Nine years later, he invented the famous Lock-Stitch Sewing Machine, for which he obtained a patent in 1846. Little, however, did he appreciate the value of his invention; for he offered to sell his patent for the sum of five hundred dollars—a patent from which he afterward realized half a million dollars in a single year! He died October 3rd, 1867, at Brooklyn.

Among the crowds that took up their abode here synchronously with Mr. Howe, was a slender youth of seventeen summers, who now stands the foremost of those who have achieved wealth and fame in the manufacture of patent medicines. James C. Ayer was born in Groton, Connecticut, May 5th, 1818, exactly six months earlier than his friend and fellow-citizen, Gen. Butler. His first experiences here were in the family of his uncle, James Cook, and in the High School. As the ardent boy walked occasionally through the Middlesex mills, (of which his uncle was then Agent,) and





JAMES C. AYER.

saw the stockholders and directors in all their pride and pretention, he doubtless hoped that the time would come when he too would be a stockholder and a director. What was then a dream of fancy has long since been realized as a fact.

After quitting the High School, and studying for a short time in the Westford Academy, young Ayer entered the apothecary shop of Jacob Robbins, where he devoted much of his attention to chemistry. In 1843, he commenced the manufacture of medicines for popular use. The result of his enterprise is the mammoth laboratory of which an account has already been given.* The first machine for making pills was invented by him. In recognition of his acquisitions in chemistry and kindred sciences, in 1860, the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Similarity of tastes and opinions on various points brought him into contact with Horace Greeley; and for some years past, Dr. Ayer has been the largest stockholder in the *New York Tribune*.

The people of Lowell participated with their fellow citizens all over New England in the mania which arose prior to 1835, first, respecting the lands in Maine, and afterward spreading till it inflated the prices of land in all the principal cities and towns of New England. Visionary schemes were projected, castles in the air erected, and the wildest expectations cherished that large fortunes were to be made as quickly as by the seal of Solomon or the lamp of Aladdin. This splendid bubble, bursting in 1837, left all its dupes in the gulf of penury. When the commercial history of this country shall be written, it will be found to present a constant series of alternate periods of wild speculation, and periods of bankruptcy. When business has been good, credits have been extended too far; and a general reaction has ensued. But the elastic spirit of the people and their recuperative energy have always saved the country from protracted periods of depression.

* *Ante* p. 64.